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HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF SEMITIC STUDY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

OCTOBER, 1893—JANUARY, 1894.

I. THE SEMITIC ISTAR CULT. <i>By George A. Barton, Ph. D.</i>	1-74
II. PRAYER OF THE ASSYRIAN KING ASURBANIPAL (CIR. 650 B. C.). <i>By James A. Craig.</i>	75-87
III. LIVRE INTITULÉ LAISA, SUR LES EXCEPTIONS DE LA LANGUE ARABE, PAR IBN KHÂLOÛYA, DIT IBN KHÂLAWAIHI. TEXTE ARABE PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT UNIQUE DU BRITISH MUSEUM. <i>Par Hartwig Derenbourg.</i>	88-105
IV. CONTRIBUTED NOTES.....	106
Corrections to the text of the Monolith of Shalmaneser as given in "Hebraica," II., No. 3, <i>James A. Craig.</i>	
V. BOOK NOTICES.....	107-110
Bezold's Oriental Diplomacy, <i>Robert Francis Harper.</i> —Harper's Assyrian Letters, <i>James A. Craig.</i>	

APRIL—JULY, 1894.

I. THE RELATION OF LEV. XX. TO LEV. XVII-XIX. <i>By Prof. Lewis B. Paton.</i>	111-121
II. A CRITICAL COPY OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH. <i>By Rev. W. Scott Watson.</i>	122-158
III. THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE EXODUS. <i>By Professor Nathaniel Schmidt.</i>	159-174
IV. ON THE HEBREW ELEMENT IN SLAVO-JUDÆO-GERMAN. <i>By Leo Wiener.</i>	175-187
V. NOTES ON SEMITIC GRAMMAR. <i>By Dr. Max L. Margolis.</i>	188-192
VI. MUŠANNITU(M). <i>By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.</i>	193-195
VII. ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES. <i>By Robert Francis Harper, Ph. D.</i>	196-201
VIII. NOTES. <i>By George A. Barton, Ph. D.</i>	202-207
IX. BOOK NOTICES.....	208-217
Erman's Egyptian Grammar, <i>Duncan B. Macdonald.</i> —A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, <i>James A. Craig.</i>	
X. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	218-224
XI. GENERAL INDEX.....	225, 226

✧ HEBRAICA. ✧

VOL. X. OCTOBER, 1893—JANUARY, 1894. NOS. I AND 2.

THE SEMITIC IŠTAR CULT.

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§ 4. IŠTAR OF ERECH.

[CONTINUED FROM LAST NUMBER.]

We must here as before first view the material. Let us begin with that contained in the so-called Izdubar* Epic. It will be remembered that in this epic Gilgamesh is a mighty hunter who has another hunter as a friend and ally a man known as ʕa-a-a-du or the hunter. Eabani is a wise hermit inhabiting a wild mountain region. Khumbaba, king of Elam, is oppressing Erech. Gilgamesh has a dream. He sends for Eabani to come and interpret it. Eabani refuses. Then Gilgamesh's friend, the hunter, takes two female creatures, Shamkhat and Kharimtu, who are apparently emissaries of Ištār, and they overcome Eabani's scruples and bring him. The account runs as follows:

* According to Mr. Pinches in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. IV., p. 264, tablet 82-5-22, 915 of the British Museum, explains Iz-tu-bar as Gi-l-ga-miš. The name Izdubar is, however, so widely known, that I here retain it.

MENTIONS OF THE IŠTAR OF ERECH IN THE GILGAMISH EPIC CIR. 2300(?) B. C.

(Haupt's *Nimrodepes*, p. 10, l. 45 sq.)

- 45 "Il-lik ṣa-a-di it-ti-šu *šal* Ḥa-rim-ti *šal* Šam-ḥat ú-šub-ma
 46 iṣ-ṣab-tu ur-ḫu uš-tí-šf-ru ḥarranu,
 47 ina ṣal-ši ú-mí ikli ina mī dan-ni iḫ-ri-du-ni,
 48 ṣa-a-a-du u *šal* Ḥa-rim-tu ana uš-bi-šu-nu it-taš-bu-ni
 49 išt-in ú-ma šin-a ú-ma ina pu-ud maš-ki-i it-taš-bu
 50 ikšu-da bu-lu maš-ka-a i-šat-ti
 p. 11, l. 1 ikšu-da nam-maš-šf-f mī-pl i-ṭib lib-ba-šu
 2 ú šu-u....Eabani i-rim-ta-šu ṣa-du-um-ma,
 3 it-ti ṣabīti-pl-ma ik-ka-la ikkal
 4 it-ti bu-lim maš-ka-a i-šat-ti
 5 it-ti nam-maš-šf-f mī-pl i-ṭib lib-ba-šu,
 6 i-mu-šu-ma *šal* Šam-ḥat paḥ-la-a amili."

Ibid., p. 11, l. 21.

- VI Ur-ri ú VII mušī-pl tí-bi-ma ú-pa-ta-i-ri-ḫi
 22 ul-tu iṣ-bu-u la-la-ša
 23 pa-ni-šu iṣ-ta-kan a-na ṣiri bu-lī-šu

 28 um-ta-aṭ-ṭu Eabani....ki-i ṣa pa-ni la sa-an-šu

 30 i-tu-ra-ram-mu it-ta(?)-šab ina ṣa-pal *šal* Ḥa-rim-ti.
 31 ú šu-u i-ši-ṭi....i-na-aṭ-ṭa-la pa-ni-ša,
 32 *šal* Ḥa-rim-ti i-ḫab-bu-ú i-šim-ma-a uzni-šu
 33 u Ḥa-[rim-ti] a-na ṣa-šu-ma izku-ra a-na Eabani
 34ka-ta Eabani ki-ma ili.....
 35 am-mí-ni it-ti nam-maš-šf-f ta-rab-bu-ud ṣira
 36 ritti-ka lu-[u] ru-uk-ka-[ab ina] lib-bi Uruk *ki* Su-bu-ri
 37 a-na Í-il-ši mu-šab *ilu* A-num u *ilu* Iš-tar
 38 a-šar *ilu* Gilgamiš git-ma-lu í-mu-ki
 39 ú ki-i-am uḫ-ṭa-aš-ša-ru ili nišī-pl
 40 i-ta-ma-aš šim-ma ma-gir ka-ba-ša
 41 mu-du-ú lib-ba-šu i-šf-f-a ip-ra
 42 Eabani a-na ṣa-ši-ma izkura *šal* Ḥa-rim-ti
 43 al-ki *šal* Šam-ḥat-ta ḫi-ri-in-ni ya-a-ši
 44 a-na Í-il-ši-tar-du-ši mu-šab *ilu* A-num *ilu* Iš-tar

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF ERECH IN THE GILGAMISH EPIC, CIR. 2300(?) B. C.

45 "The hunter went and caused Kharimtu and Shamkhat to return with him
and

46 They seized the road, they made straight the way.

47 On the third day unto the field of mighty water they approached.

48 The hunter and Kharimtu seated themselves on their seat.

49 One day, two days they sat beside the water (lit. drink).

50 The cattle approached, the drink they drank, their heart rejoiced.

p. 11—1 The vermin of the waters came its heart rejoiced.

2 And Eabani, himself—his dwelling was the mountain.

3 With the gazelles he ate food,

4 With the cattle he quaffed drink,

5 With the vermin of the waters he rejoiced his heart.

6 Shamkhat, the seductrix*(?) of mankind saw him—"

Then follows ll. 7-20 a detailed account of the immoral intercourse between Shamkhat and Eabani which it is unnecessary to put into English.

21 "Six days and seven nights came while they† indulged themselves(?).

22 After he had satisfied her passion(?)

23 He turned his face towards the plain of his cattle.

28 Eabani approached‡ (her)§ when before she had not enticed(?) him.

30 He turned(?) and sat at the feet of Kharimtu,

31 And he drew(?)....he saw her face.

32 Kharimtu spoke (and) his ears heard.

33 And Kharimtu said to him—to Eabani,

34O Eabani, like a god (thou art).

35 Why wilt thou with the vermin inhabit|| the plain,

36 At thy side let me ride|| into Erech Suburi,

37 To I-ilshi, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar,

38 The place of Gilgamish, (who is) powerful and wise,

39 And thus establishes himself over the people.

40 She spoke to him and at the favor of her speech

41 The knowledge of his heart was dust.

42 Eabani said to her, Kharimtu,

43 I take Shamkhat as my horn;

44 Unto Iilši-tarduši, the dwelling of Anu and Ištār,

* Cf. Arab. نكل (?). † Eabani and Shamkhat. ‡ Kharimtu. § Cf. Aram. כַּטֶּר .

|| Cf. רכרת' cf. Prov. VII. 16.

- 45 a-šar *ilu* Gilgamiš git-ma-lu i-mu-ki
 46 u ki-i-[am uk]-[a-aš-ša-ru] ili nišī-pl.
 47 a-na-ku lu-uk-ri-šum-ma i....lu-kaš....

(Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, p. 42, l. 5 sqq.)*

- 6 A-na du-un-ki ša *ilu* Gilgamiš i-na iṭ-ta-lim ru-bu-tu *ilu* Ištar
 7 al-kan-ma *ilu* Gilgamiš lu-u ḥa-'a-ir at-ta
 8 in-bi-ka ya-a-ši ka-a-ša ki-šam-ma
 9 at-ta lu-u mu-ti-ma a-na-ku lu-ú aš-ša-at-ka
 10 lu-ši-iṣ-bit-ka *išu* narkabtu. *abnu* ukun u ḥuraši
 11 ša-ma-ša-ru-ša ḥuraša-am-ma il-mi-šu qar-na-a-šá

 16ina šap-li-ka šarrāni-pl bilī-pl rubūti-pl
 17[man]-da-at šad-i u ma-a-tu lu-u na-šu-nik-ka bīl-tu
 18ka dak-ši-i šini-pl-ka tu-'a-a-mi li-li-da
 19bīl-ti *imiri* pari li-ba-'a.

 22 *ilu* Gilgamiš pa-a-šu i-pu-uš-ma i-kaš-bi
 23 i-zak-ka-ra a-na ru-bu-tú *ilu* Ištar

 46 a-na *ilu* Duzu ḥa-mi-ri.....ri-ti-ki
 47 šat-ta a-na šat-ti bi-tak-ka-a ri-ti-pl-šu
 48 Al-lal-la-bit-ru-ma ta-ra-mi-ma
 49 tam-ḥa-ši-šu-ma hap-pa-šu tal-ti-bir
 50 iz-za-az ina ki-ša-tim i-sis-si kap-pi
 51 ta-ra-mi-ma nišu ga-mi-ir i-mu-ki.
 52 VII u VII tu-uh-tar-ri-iš-šu šu-ut-ta-a-ti
 53 ta-ra-mi-ma *imiri* sisa na-'a-id kaš-bi
 54 iš-taḥ-ḥa zaḥ-ti u dir-ra-ta ri-ti-pl-šu
 55 VII kas-bu la-sa-ma ri-ti-pl-šu
 56 da-la-ḥu ù ša-ta-a ri-ti-pl-šu
 57 a-na ummi-šu *ilu* Si-li-li bi-tak-ka-a ri-ti-mi
 58 ta-ra-mi-ma *amīlu* ri'u Ta-bu-la
 59 šá ka-a-a-nam-ma tu-um-ri-iš-bu kak-ka
 60 ū-mi-šam-ma ú-ṭa-ba-ḥa-ak-ki ú-ni-ki ba-laṭa
 61 tam-ḥa-ši-šu-ma a-na barbari tu-ut-tir-ri-šu

* As will be noticed, I have omitted here and there lines which do not affect the bearing of the narrative on our subject.

- 45 The place of Gilgamish, who is powerful and wise,
 46 And thus establishes himself over the people—
 47 I will call to him and.....”

Thus Eabani was induced to visit Erech. After Gilgamish had conquered the Elamite, Ištar sought him as a husband. The narrative runs thus:

- 6 “For the favor of Gilgamish, when the princess Ishtar looked (she said :)
 7 ‘Come, O Gilgamish, thou art my husband,
 8 Thy love to me as a present give,
 9 Thou shalt be my husband, I will be thy wife;
 10 I will give thee a chariot of lapis-lazuli and gold,
 11 Whose *mašaru* is gold and its front(?) is its horn(?).

 16under thee kings, lords, (and) princes.
 17a gift, mountain and plain shall bring thee tribute.
 18thy flocks shall bear twins.
 19mules as tribute shall come.’

 22 Gilgamish opened his mouth and spoke,
 23 He said to the princess Ištar :

 46 ‘Unto Tammuz (thy) husband (thou gavest) thy love;
 47 Year by year they bewail his love.
 48 Allalla-bitru* thou lovedst,
 49 Thou foughtest him and his wing thou didst break;
 50 He stood in the forest and bewailed his wing.
 51 Thou didst love a lion great in strength,
 52 Seven by seven thou didst dig out his claws(?).
 53 Thou didst love a horse exalted in battle,
 54 The intensity and durability of his love increased,
 55 For fourteen hours his love was sweet(?) ;†
 56 Disturbed and baffled(?) was his love;
 57 Unto his mother Silili he cried (concerning his) love.
 58 Thou didst love a shepherd, Tabula,
 59 Whose weapon thou didst continually sharpen(?);
 60 Daily he sacrificed to thee, he offered life;
 61 Thou foughtest with him and didst turn him to a jackal,

* Apparently an eagle.

† Cf. Arab *أسمر*.

- 62 ú-ṭa-ar-ra-du-šu ka-tú-ru ša ram-ni-šu,
 63 u kalbi-pl-šu ú-na-aš-ša-ku šab-ri-šu
 64 ta-ra-mi-ma I-šu-ul-la-nu *amīlu* abi-ki
 65 šá ka-a-a-nam-ma šu-gu-ra-a na-šik-ki
 66 ú-mi-šam-ma ú-nam-ma-ru pa-aš-šur-ki
 67 i-na ta-at-ta-ši-šum-ma ta-ri kiš-šu,
 68 I-šu-ul-la-ni-ya kiš-šu-ta-ki i-na-kul,
 69 u kata-ka tu-ti-ša-am-ma la-pa-tu ḥar-da-at-ni.
 70 I-šu-ul-la-nu i-ḫab-bi-ki,
 71 ya-a-ši mi-na-a tīr-ri-ši-in-ni

 76 tam-ḫa-ši-šu a-na tal-la-li tu-ut-tīr-ri-šu
 77 tu-ši-ši-bi-šu-ma ina ḫa-bal man-a.....
 78
 79 u ya-a-ši ta-ram-man-ni-ma ki-i ša šu-nu-tu....
 80 *ilu* Iš-tar an-na-a ina ši-mi-ša
 81 *ilu* Iš-tar i-gu-gum-ma a-na ša-ma-mi í-tí-la-a
 82 il-lik-ma *ilu* Iš-tar ana pan *ilu* A-num a-bi-ša
 83 a-na pa-an *ilu* Anuti il-li-kam-ma iḫabbi.

(Del. *AL.*,³ p. 104, l. 110 sqq., Lyon, *Ass. Manual*, p. 59, l. 3 sqq.)

- 110 i-šis-si *ilu* Iš-tar ki-ma a-lit-ti
 111 ú-nam-bi iltu širtu ṭa-bat rig-ma;
 112 ud-mu ul-lu-ú a-na ṭi-iṭ-ṭi lu-ú i-tur-ma
 113 ša a-na-ku ina ma-ḫar ilāni aḫ-bu-ú limmutta
 114 ki-i aḫ-bi ina ma-ḫar ilāni limmutta
 115 ana ḫul-lu-uḫ nišī-pl-ya kal-la aḫ-bi-ma
 116 a-na-ku um-ma ul-la-da ni-šu-ú-a-a-ma
 117 ki-í aplí-pl nuni-pl ú-ma-al-la-a tam-ta-am-ma
 118 ilāni šu-ud *ilu* a-nun-na-ki ba-ku-ú it-ti-ša
 119 ilāni-pl aš-ru aš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti
 120 kat-ma šap-ta-šu-nu.....

- 62 His own under-shepherds drove him out,
 63 And his dogs licked his wounds.
 64 Thou didst love Ishullani, the gardener of thy father,
 65 Who continually bore thy burden ;
 66 Daily he made bright thy sacrificial dish.
 67 When thou hadst taken him thou didst apply* force.
 68 My Ishullani was distrustful of thy force,
 69 And thy hand thou didst stretch out to dispel our fear(?).
 70 Ishullani said to thee,
 71 ' Me ? Why dost thou desire me ?'

 76 Thou foughtest with him and into a hillock didst turn him,
 77 Thou didst place him in the midst of.....

 79 And me—thou lovest me and like them (I shall be).'
 80 Ishtar—when she heard this
 81 Ishtar was angry and ascended to heaven,
 82 Ishtar went to the presence of Anu her father,
 83 To the presence of Anutu she went and said."

Then follows a complaint against Gilgamish. In consequence of this complaint a bull was created to plague Gilgamish and Eabani, and at last Eabani was smitten with a fatal disease. After Eabani's death Gilgamish visited the country of *Maš* to find Pir-napištim, from whom he hoped to gain the resurrection of Eabani, and immortality for himself. Pir-napištim, the hero of the deluge relates to him that event. After describing the preparation of the ark, his entrance into it, the coming of the waters, and the destruction of life, he says :

- 110 " Ištar cried out like a woman in travail,
 111 The exalted, the kind goddess said :
 112 ' That race(?) to clay is turned ;
 113 Which evil I prophesied before the gods,
 114 When I prophesied evil in the presence of the gods,
 115 Concerning the destruction of my people I spoke in their midst.
 116 I said : ' I shall beget my people and
 117 Like the fishes shall they fill the sea.' '
 118 The gods wept with her over the spirits of earth,
 119 The gods were bowed down, they sat in weeping,
 120 Their lips were covered".....

* St. ורה .

Again when the deluge is passed, and Pir-napištim offers sacrifice, and the gods gather around like flies, l. 153 tells us

153 ul-tu ul-la-nu-um-ma iltu širtu ina ka-ša-di-šu

154 iš-ši kašâti(?)*pl.* rabûti-*pl*-ša ilu A-nim.....

HYMN TO IŠTAR* OF ERECH† CIR. 2300(?) B. C.

(IV R. 19, No. 3. Cf. Haupt's *ASKT.*, p. 179.)

"How long, O lady, shall the mighty enemy destroy thy country ?

In thy chief city, Erech, languishing has appeared ;

In I-ulbar, the house of thy oracle, blood is poured out like water ;

ESARHADDON'S ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORATION OF IŠTAR'S TEMPLE AT ERECH.‡

¹A-na ilu Iš-tar bilti šur-bu-ti f-til-lit šam-f u irš-tim ka-rit-ti ilāni-*pl* ša-ru-uh-ti ²ilu Ištar Uruk-*ki* ru-ba-a-ti šir-ti li-ka-a-ti pa-ra-aš ilu a-nim-ú-tu ³ša ri-kis tī-ri-f-ti ha-am-mat, ⁴ru-um-ti ti-iz-kar-ti ša a-na šarri mi-ig-ri-ša ki-ni-š ip-pal-la-su ⁵pala-šu ú-šal-ba-ru i-šar-ra-ku-uš da-na-nu ù li-i-ti ⁶ša-nun-ka-at ad-na-a-ti ša-ku-ti ilāni-*pl* a-ši-bat I-tillu-an-na ⁷ša ki-rib I-an-na bī-lit Uruk-*ki* bilti rabi-ti bilti-šu ⁸m ilu Aššur-aḫi-iddi-na šarru rab-ú šarru dan-nu šarri kiššâti šarri *matu* ilu Aššur-*ki* šarri kib-rat irbit-ti šakkanak Ba-bili-*ki*, ⁹šarri *matu* Su-mi-ri u Akkadi-*ki*, ¹⁰ti-ri-iš kata ilu Aššur i-tu-ut kun lib-bi ilu Bīl ni-bit ilu Marduk mi-gir ding-ir-ni-ni, ¹¹ša ul-tu ši-ḫi-ri-šu a-na ilu Aššur ilu A-num ilu Bīl ilu Ea ilu Sin ilu Šamaš ilu Raman ilu Marduk ilu Nabu ilu Nergal u ilu Ištar, ¹²ilāni-*pl* rabûti-*pl* bilti-*pl*-šu it-tak-lu-ma ni-is mat-šu ú-šak-ši-du-uš i-mu-ru da-na-an-šu-un ¹³a-na nu-uh-ḫu lib-bi ilu-ú-ti-šu-nu u nu-up-pu-uš ka-bit-ti-šu-nu i-šu šillu-šu-nu da-ru-ú ¹⁴it-ru-šu ūi-šu, ¹⁵ina i-muk ilu Aššur ilu Bīl apal ilu Bīl u ilu Ištar ilāni-*pl* ti-ik-li-šu kul-lat matâti i-bī-lu-ma, ¹⁶gi-mir ma-li-ku ú-šak-ni-šu ši-pu-uš-šu, ¹⁷ba-

* This hymn is written in the so-called Sumero-Akkadian, partially accompanied with an Assyrian translation. As the existence of Akkadian is now questioned by an increasing number of scholars, I attempt no transliteration. For that cf. Zimmern, *Busspealmen*, p. 74.

† In these old Babylonian hymns Ishtar is, in the so-called Akkadian portions, called Nana. It is possible that there was in pre-Semitic times a goddess Nana in Babylonia, which bore in her characteristics a general resemblance to Semitic Ištar, and that the Semites identified her with their own chief goddess by an interpretatio Babylonica (appropriating to their own goddesses hymns and myths originally composed for the other), as the Romans by an interpretatio Romana identified the deities of other nations with their own. That Ištar is a native Semitic deity will appear when we come in § 16 to discuss the problems raised in the study of this cult. If such identification of Nana and Ištar occurred (and if Nana was non-Semitic, it certainly did occur) the fact that it could be made justifies us in using all the material as sources of information about Ištar.

‡ This transliteration and translation are reprinted with corrections from the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* for May, 1891, where the cuneiform text will also be found. Cf. also Strong in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. VIII., p. 113 sqq.

153 "From afar the exalted goddess in her approach

154 Lifted up the great bows(?) of Anu ".....

As Ištar was called *iltu širtu* in line 111, this is a description of her approach to the sacrifice.

Upon all thy countries he has cast fire, he has poured it (over them) like incense(?);
O my lady, I am exceedingly yoked to misfortune.

My lady, thou hast encompassed me, thou hast brought me into difficulty.

The mighty enemy has trodden(?) me down like a lonely reed.

Understanding I do not take hold of, I am without wisdom.

Like a field I mourn night and day;

I thy servant, humble myself before thee.

May thy heart be at rest! may thy feelings be calm!

.....wailing, may thy heart be at rest!

.....may thy heart be at rest

.....thy face turn!"(?)

ESARHADDON'S ACCOUNT OF THE RESTORATION OF IŠTAR'S TEMPLE AT ERECH.

¹To Ishtar, the majestic lady, the chief of heaven and earth, the mighty warriorress of the gods, ²the great Ishtar of Erech, the exalted one who receives the commands of deity, ³she who the bond of laws makes fast, ⁴the lofty one, the mighty, who faithfully shows favor to the king her favorite, ⁵(who) prolongs his reign and presents to him power and might, ⁶who is queen of the mansions of the exalted gods, the inhabitress of I-itilluanna, ⁷which is within I-anna, lady of Erech, the great lady, his lady, ⁸Esarhaddon, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world, the governor of Babylon, ⁹king of Sumir and Akkad, ¹⁰the creature of the hands of Aššur, the associate of the faithfulness of the heart of Bil, the appointee of Marduk, the favorite of the gods, ¹¹who from his youth unto Aššur, Anu, Bil, Ea, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, Marduk, Nabu, Nergal and Ishtar, ¹²the great gods his lords, trusted, and they caused him to capture the distant of his country, (who) saw their power (and who) ¹³in order to appease the heart of their divinity and satisfy their soul, their everlasting protection, ¹⁴placed over him, ¹⁵(who) by the power of Aššur, Bil the son of Bil and Ishtar, the gods his helpers, subdued all the countries and ¹⁶subjugated all kings to his feet, ¹⁷the builder of

nu-ú bit *ilu* Aššur í-piš Í-sag-ila u Babili-*kei* mu-ud-diš Í-an-na ¹⁸mu-šak-lil
 iš-ri-t-ti u ma-*ha*-zu mu-kin sat-tuk-ku ¹⁹šarru ša ina úmí-*pl* pali-šu bšlu
 rab-ú *ilu* Marduk a-na Babili-*kei* sa-li-mu ir-šu-ú ²⁰ina Í-sag-ila í-kalli-šu ir-
 mu-ú šu-bat-šu, ²¹*ilu* A-num rabu ana ali-šu Dur-ili-*kei* ú biti-šu Í-dim-gal-
 kalam-ma ú-ší-ri-bu-ma ²²ú-ší-ši-bu pa-rak-ka da-ra-a-ti, ²³iláni-*pl* matâti ša
 ana(?)* *matu* *ilu* Aššur-*kei* i-*hi*-šu-ni šu-kut-ta-šu-nu ud-diš-ma ul-tu *ki*-rib
matu *ilu* Aššur-*kei* ²⁴ana aš-ri-šu-nu ú-tir-šu-nu-ti-ma ú-kin iš-ri-tuš-šu-un ²⁵ra-
 bu in-*ku* it-pi-šu *ha*-sis kal šip-ri ša ina ma-*ha*-zi rabûti-*pl* ²⁶si-ma-a-ti iš-tak-
 kan-nu uš-tí-ši-ru ša-lah-*ha*, ²⁷apal *m* *ilu* Sin-*a*hi-*pl*-ir-ba šarri kiššâti šarri
matu *ilu* Aššur-*kei* apal *m* Sarru-kinu šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur-*kei* ²⁸šakkanak
 Babili-*kei* sarri *matu* Su-mi-ru u Akkadi-*kei*, ²⁹li-ip-li-pi da-ru-ú ša *m* Bil-ba-ni
 apal *m* A-da-si šarri *matu* *ilu* Aššur-*kei* ³⁰pir'u Aššur-*kei* šu-*ku* šub-tim(?) šar-
 ru(?)-ú-tu *ki*-rit-ti ya-a-ti. ³¹i-nu-ma Í-an-na bit *ilu* a-nu-ú-tu na-ram *ilu* Íštar
 bšlti-ya ša šarru ma-*har* i-pu-uš, ³²la-ba-riš il-lik-ma i-*ku*-pu igarâti-*pl*-šu, ³³aš-
 ra-ti-šu aš-tí-í-ti-ma bit-ta-šu as-suh ti-mí-in-šu ú-ba-tik-ma ki-ma si-ma-ti-šu,
³⁴la-bi-ra-a-ti ina ši-pir *ilu* Libitti ar-šip ú-šak-lil ki-ma šad-i ri-í-ši-šu ul-li.
³⁵*ilu* Íštar bštu šur-bu-ti ši-pir šu-a-tu *ha*-diš lip-pa-lis-ma a-mat damiḫti-ya
 liš-ša-kin šip-tuš-ša, ³⁶muḫ-*hi* kul-lat na-ki-ri li-šam-ri-ir *išu* kakkí-*pl*-ya. ³⁷ma-
 ti-ma ina aḫ-rat umí-*pl* ru-bu arku-ú ša ina úmí-*pl* pali-šu ši-pir šu-a-tu ³⁸in-
 na-*hu*-ma šuatu bití i-raš-šu-ú-ma aš-ra-ti-šu liš-tí-í-ti-ma igara-šu lik-šar, ³⁹mu-
 šar-u ši-tir šumi-ya šamni lip-šu-uš *kirru* niḫâni liḫ-*ki* ina aš-ri-šu liš-kun,
⁴⁰ik-ri-bi-šu iláni-*pl* i-šim-mu-ú ur-rak úmí-*pl* ú-rap-pa-aš-šu(?) balaṭa. ⁴¹ša mu-
 šar-ú ši-tir šumi-ya ina ši-pir ni-kil-tu ib-ba-tu lu-ú a-šar-šu ú-nak-ka-ru, ⁴²*ilu*
 Íštar bštu rabi-ti ag-gi-š lik-rim-mi-šu-ma suma-šu zira-šu ina nap-*har* matâti
 li-*hal*-liḫ.

ÍŠTAR OF ERECH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

1 (V R. 6. 107sq. and Del. AL³, 120-121.)

ilu Na-na-a ša IMVICXXX a-an V. šanâti-*pl* ¹⁰⁸ta-as-bu-šu tal-li-ku
 tu-ši-bu ¹⁰⁹ki-rib *matu* Ílamti-*kei* a-šar la si-ma-ti-í-ša ¹¹⁰ú ina ú-mí-
 šu-ma ši-i ú iláni-*pl* abí-*pl*-ša ¹¹¹tab-bu-u šu-mí a-na bí-lut matâti
¹¹²ta-a-a-rat ilu-ti-ša tu-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a ¹¹³um-ma *m* *ilu* Aššur-bani-
 aplu ul-tu ki-rib *matu* Ílamti-*kei* ¹¹⁴him-ni-ti ú-ši-ša-an-ni-ma ¹¹⁵ú-ši-
 rab-an-ni ki-rib Í-an-na. ¹¹⁶a-mat *ki*-bit ilu-ti-šu-un ¹¹⁷šá ul-tu úmí-
pl ruḫti-*pl* ik-bu-u ¹¹⁸f-nin-na ú-kal-li-mu niší-*pl* arkâti-*pl* ¹¹⁹ḫati
 ilu-ti-ša rabi-ti at-mu-uh-ma ¹²⁰har-ra-nu i-šir-tá ša ul-lu-uš lib-bi
¹²¹ta-aš-ba-ta a-na Í-an-na. ¹²²ina arḫi Kisilimi úmí I *kan* ina ki-
 rib Uruk-*kei* ú-ší-rib-ši-ma ¹²³ina Í-šar-gub-an-na ša ta-ram-mu ¹²⁴ú-šar-
 mi-ši parak da-ra-a-ti.

* This sign was written "a" and then the right hand wedges were partly erased. *Ana* is the suggestion of Mr. Pinches.

† For this reading, see Brünnow, 4711, and Sa iv. 12.

the temple of Aššur, the maker of Isagila and Babylon, the renewer of Ianna, ¹⁸the completer of the shrines and the city, the establisher of the sacrifices, ¹⁹the king in the days of whose reign the great lord Marduk granted favor to Babylon, ²⁰in Isagila his temple, he inhabited his dwelling, ²¹(who) caused the great Anu to enter into his city Durili and his house I-dimgalkalamma and ²²to inhabit an everlasting sanctuary, ²³(who) as to the gods of the countries who had hastened unto Assyria, their image renewed, and out of the midst of Assyria ²⁴unto their place returned them and established their enclosure(?),* ²⁵the prince, the wise worker meditates upon all the work which is set ²⁶as an adornment in the great cities, (who) establishes ceremonies, ²⁷son of Senacherib, king of hosts, king of Assyria, son of Sargon king of Assyria, ²⁸governor of Babylon, king of Sumir and Akkad, ²⁹the everlasting offspring of Bilbani, son of Adasi king of Assyria, ³⁰the scion of the lofty city Aššur, the dwelling of might royalty, am I. ³¹When Ianna the house of deity, the favorite of Ishtar my lady, which a king had built before, ³²had become old and its walls had decayed, ³³its places I examined, and its house removed, its foundation I broke up and like its adornments ³⁴with a work of the brick god I raised up, I completed, I raised its top like a mountain. ³⁵May Ishtar, the great lady, look joyfully on my work, and may the word of favor to me be established by her lip, ³⁶may she cause my weapons to march over all enemies. ³⁷At any time in future days, may the prince, in the days of whose reign this work ³⁸shall decay and this house be dilapidated(?), examine its places and repair its walls. ³⁹The writing written in my name with oil may he cleanse, sacrifices may he offer, in its place may he set it. ⁴⁰His prayers the gods shall hear, and length of days he shall extend as his life. ⁴¹Whoever shall destroy the writing written in my name with (its) cunning work, or change its place, ⁴²may the great Ishtar angrily overthrow him, and may she destroy his name and his seed in all countries.

IŠTAR OF ERECH IN ASSURBANIPAL, 668-626 B. C.

- 1 "Nana, who for 1635 years had been angry, had gone (and) dwelt in the midst of Elam, a place not suitable for her, and on that day she and the gods her fathers had named me for the lordship of the countries, (and) the return of her divinity had entrusted to me, saying: 'Assurbanipal shall bring me out of the midst of evil Elam, and shall cause me to enter into I-anna.' The spoken command of their divinity which from distant days they spoke, now a later people fulfilled. The hand of her divinity, I grasped. The straight way which was the delight of her heart she took unto I-anna.† In the month Kisilimu, the 1st day, I caused her to enter Erech, and in Išargubanna, an everlasting sanctuary, which she loved, I caused her to dwell."

* tem יצא.

† The fact that Nana is brought to I-an-na, as well as the usage of the bilingual hymns referred to supra, p. 8, identifies her with Ishtar.

IŠTAR OF ERECH IN NEBUCHADREZZAR, 605-562 B. C.

1 (I R. 65. Col. II. 50sqq.)

ši-ma-a-ti ri-iš-ta-a-ti ⁵¹bīl-lu-di-i ku-ud-mu-ú-tim, ⁵²ša ilu Ištar Uruk-ki
 bī-i-li-it Uruk-ki i-l-li-tim ⁵³ú-ti-ir aš-ru-uš-šu-un ⁵⁴a-na Uruk-ki šī-i-
 du-uš-šu ⁵⁵a-na ĩ-an-na la-ma-sa ša da-mi-ik-tim ú-ti-ir, ⁵⁶tī-mī-in-na
 ĩ-an-na la-bi-ri ⁵⁷a-ĥi-iṭ ab-ri-i-ma ⁵⁸li tī-mī-in-ni-ša la-bi-ri ⁵⁹ú-ki-in
 uš-šu-ša.

1 V R. 34. Col. II. 33) ĩ-an-na bit ilu Iš-tar ša Uruk-ki..... ³⁷ī-šī-šī-iš i-bu-
 uš-ma.

It will be seen from a glance at the above material that we cannot make any complete historical sketch of the worship of Ištar at Erech. We have, however, in the Gilgamesh epic, the oldest material extant concerning Ištar. If we identify the invasion of Erech by the Elamite recorded in this epic, with that mentioned by Assurbanipal, and which he says occurred 1635 years before his time, we can gain some historical trace of Ištar at Erech about 2300 B. C. But the character of the goddess there revealed represents conceptions of the divinity which had their origin at a time, in all probability, much more ancient than that.

It is generally admitted that religious ideas reflect the political and social conditions of the age in which they originate. However the contest between such writers as McLennan on the one hand and Westermarck on the other, as to whether all human society was once polyandrous or not, may ultimately be decided, Professor W. Robertson Smith in his *Kinship and Marriage in Ancient Arabia* has shown that Arabic society has passed through a polyandrous stage. This is practically a proof that primitive Semitic society passed through a polyandrous stage, for there is a growing tendency among scholars to regard Arabia as the country where primitive Semitic customs and traits have survived in greater purity than elsewhere. Professor W. R. Smith has also pointed out (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 56) that the Ishtar of Erech reflects this polyandrous state of society. The material we have just reviewed abundantly bears out this statement. Such creatures as Shamkhat and Kharimtu could not have been introduced with the description of such disgusting details into the popular epic of a society to which such conduct was offensive, nor could a goddess who changed her husbands at pleasure, or rather who could hardly be said to have a husband, but who cohabited promiscuously with whomsoever her fancy dictated, be revered and worshipped in a society which was not, when it began the worship, in the practice of the same promiscuity. The husbands of Ištar, too, are significant. Among them were the eagle, lion and horse. This fact points unmistakably to a society which had not yet emerged from the totemistic stage and in which the lion, eagle and horse were sacred to their goddess Ishtar. As this seems to be the

IŠTAR OF ERECH IN NEBUCHADREZZAR, 605-562 B. C.

- 1 "The first instruments of the original cult(?) of Ištar of Erech, the brilliant lady of Erech, I restored to their places. I restored to Erech her bull deities, (and) to Ianna its gracious bull-colossus. The old foundation-stone of Ianna I sought and found, and on its old foundation stone I laid its foundation."

- 1 "Ianna, the house of Ištar of Erech,.....I built anew."

only trace of these totemistic characteristics in Babylonian literature, I am inclined to regard them as a survival at Erech of ideas far antedating the final editing of this epic.

From the dim antiquity in which such a goddess could originate, the worship of Ištar at Erech continued down to the 6th century B. C., and probably much later. As appears from the above material, however, we are only able to identify this worship historically in the reigns of Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, and Nebuchadrezzar. Erech was subjugated by Babylon at an early date and no royal line resided within her walls to sing the praises of her goddess.

With reference to the form of the Ištar cult at Erech, little can be said. From time immemorial a temple existed there, called variously I-ilshi, I-ulbar, and I-anna,* unless, indeed, these are different ideographic writings of the same name, or are names referring to different portions of the same temple. We have in the Esarhaddon inscription quoted above the name given of one such shrine in the temple Ianna. Esarhaddon speaks of its old adornments, and of raising up its top like a mountain, from the latter it may be inferred that as restored by him the temple possessed a *ziggurat* or lofty tower. This temple as restored by Nebuchadrezzar possessed apparently bull deities and colossi, similar to those so familiar to us from Assyrian palaces. Nebuchadrezzar also speaks of restoring the original utensils of what seems to be the ancient worship, but what they were we cannot now tell. From Assurbanipal, on the other hand, we learn that as early as 2300 B. C. the Ištar of Erech was represented by a statue, and unless his language "The hand of her divinity I grasped" is to be regarded as altogether figurative, this statue was carved in human form. This need not surprise us as we have seen that a highly adorned statue of the goddess existed at Nineveh at the very dawn of Assyrian history. The fact, however, that the *maššaba* so common in Palestine down to the 6th century B. C. as an emblem of the deity, has everywhere in Assyria and Babylonia apparently given way to a more artistic representation, is strong evidence of the great antiquity of the Assyro-Babylonian civilization. One other fact with reference to the ritual must be noted. As early

* In the brief inscriptions from the old dynasty of Erech translated by Winckler, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, 1. 77 sq. there is mention of I-an-na, but not of Ištār.

as the composition of the Gilgamish epic the wailing for Tammuz year by year had begun. It is interesting to note that at Erech this custom was explained by a myth which made Tammuz one of the husbands of the polyandrous Ištar, and implies that his unhappy life with her and perhaps his rejection and death at her hands were the causes of the custom. It is well to note this as the custom is otherwise accounted for elsewhere.

Many of the mythological or semi-mythological stories connected with the Ištar of Erech we have already considered in treating of her early history. One important mythological statement still remains. It is that found in the Gilgamish epic which makes Ištar, the daughter of Anu and Anumtu. This statement is significant in two respects. It will be remembered that the Ištar of Nineveh was the daughter of Sin, and the Ištar of Arbela the daughter of Aššur, while here we have a growth of myth independent of both, which makes Ištar of a still different lineage. This is an important fact to which we shall have to refer again in a subsequent section. This statement, moreover, shows a growth in the Gilgamish myths themselves. In a polyandrous society such as that in which we have seen these myths of Ištar first took shape, kinship reckoned through males is unknown. The mother is everything and the father nothing from the simple fact that even the mother herself does not know which one of her admirers is the father of a child.

In a religion which reflects the conceptions of such a society, it is obvious, then, that a goddess could not be said to have a father. The fact that Ištar is here said to be the daughter of Anu, indicates that when our epic was written Semitic society at Erech had ceased to be polyandrous, and that the poet grafted the family conceptions of his own time on to the polyandrous myths of a preceding age. This confirms the conjecture made above, that these polyandrous ideas represent the origin of Ishtar in a society long anterior to the composition of the Gilgamish epic. As to the religious conceptions connected with the goddess of this shrine they are, as we have seen in part already of different grades and strata.

In the epic Ištar is at first a polyandrous mother goddess, whose love is more dangerous than attractive. She is the mother of the human race, and mourns for them when destroyed by the deluge, as do the other gods no doubt partly from sympathy with her. The whole conception of the divine is in the epic very crude. The gods swarm to a sacrifice like flies. Ištar shares in this nature of the divine as thus crudely conceived and comes to the sacrifice too.

But the ideas of the people not only advance in the epic, till Ištar has a father, but in the hymn which appears to be of equal antiquity with the later stories of the epic, she is constantly addressed as lady or queen, showing a considerable advance upon the simple mother goddess of the polyandrous era. This hymn, moreover, represents her as especially fond of Erech. This is the repre-

sentation given of the Ištar of Nineveh concerning that city, of Yahweh concerning Zion, and of every ancient deity of its abode.

In Esarhaddon, too, Ištar is the majestic queen or lady, the chief of heaven and earth, the executrix of the commands of the gods, the mighty warriorress, the one who makes fast the bond of laws, and the lofty, the mighty. She holds, in other words, about the same place, and has reached about the same stage of development as that attained by the Ištar of Nineveh at this period. She has developed as the organization of society, and the needs of the people made development possible.

§5. IŠTAR OF BABYLON.

HYMN TO IŠTAR* CIR. 2000 B. C.

(Haupt's *ASKT.*, 116 sqq. and IV R. 21, No. 2.)

- 1 "O Fulfiller of the commands of Bil.....
- 2 Sharp dagger.....
- 3 Mother of the gods, fulfiller of the commands of Bil,
- 4 Thou bringer-forth of verdure, thou lady of mankind—
- 5 Begetress of all, who makest all offspring thrive,
- 6 Mother Ištar, whose might no god approaches,
- 7 Majestic lady, whose commands are powerful,
- 8 A request I will utter which—may it accomplish good for me.
- 9 O lady, from the day I was a child, I have been exceedingly bound to humility.
- 10 Food I did not eat, tears were my bathing,
- 11 Water I did not quaff, tears were my drink.
- 12 My heart does not rejoice, my soul is not bright,
- 13lordly I do not walk.

Reverse.

- 1Painfully I wail.
- 2 My sighs(?) are many, my sickness is great.
- 3 O my lady, know my deeds, appoint me a resting place.
- 4 My sin forgive(?), raise up my face.
- 5 My god who is lord of prayer—may he present my prayer to thee!
- 6 My goddess who is mistress of supplication—may she present my prayer to thee!
- 7 The god of the deluge-flood, lord of Kharsaga—may he present my prayer to thee!

* I offer no transliteration of this as it is partly in the disputed Akkadian. It is transliterated in Zimmer's *Buss.*, p. 33. I am not certain that this hymn belongs to the shrine of Babylon, but it is certainly Babylonian and as it makes mention of Marduk of Babylon, I refer it to that shrine.

- 8 The god of favor, god of the fields—may he present my prayer to thee!
- 9 The lord of heaven and earth—lord of Eridu—may he present my prayer to thee!
- 10 The mother of the great water, the dwelling of Damkina—may she present my prayer to thee!
- 11 Marduk, lord of Babylon—may he present my prayer to thee!
- 12 His spouse, the exalted offspring(?) of heaven and earth—may she present my prayer to thee!
- 13 The exalted servant, the god who announces the good name—may he present my prayer to thee!
- 14 The bride of the first-born of Adar—may she present my prayer to thee!
- 15 The lady who holds in check(?) hostile speech—may she present my prayer to thee!

MENTIONS OF ZARPANIT IN SARGON 722-705 B. C.

- 1 (Winckler *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* II., No. 47, l. 11) *išu irinu išu šur-man ka-la ri-ik-ki bi-ib-lat šadu Ĥa-ma-a-ni ša i-ri-šu-un ta-a-bu a-na ilu Bil ilu Zar-pa-ni-tum ilu Na-bu, ilu Taš-mi-tum u ilāni a-ši-bu-ut ma-ḥa-ri matu Šu-mi-ru u Akkad-ki ul-tu riš šarru-ti-ya a-di šatti III kan u ki-sa-a ki-ša-a-ti.*
 Cf. also Winckler, *op. cit.* II., No. 47, l. 18.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN NEBUCHADREZZAR 605-562 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 65, Col. I. 16 sqq.) *šá ú-um išt-in alpu il-f ma-ra-a alpu šuklulu, ¹⁷hi-za zu-lu-ḥi-f da-am-gu-tim, ¹⁸ga-du-um šá ilāni Ī-sag-ila ú ilāni Ba-bi-lam-ki, ¹⁹nu-ú-nim, iṣ-šu-ru ú-šu-um-mu pi-la-a si-ma-at ap-pa-ri-im ²⁰di-iš-pa-am ḥi-mi-tim ši-iz-bi du-um-uḫ šá-am-nim ²¹ku-ru-un-nim da-aš-pa-am ši-ka-ar sa-tu-tum ²²ka-ra-nam í-lí-lu ka-ra-nam šadu I-za-al-lam ²³šadu Tu-f-im-mu šadu Ši-im-mi-ni šadu Ĥi-il-bu-nim ²⁴šadu A-ra-na-bu-nim šadu Su-ú-ḥa-am ²⁵šadu Bit(?)-ku-ba-nim ú šadu Bi-ta-a-tim ²⁶ki-ma mí-f na-a-ri la ni-bi-im ²⁷ina paššuri ilu Marduk ú ilu Zar-pa-ni-tum ²⁸bili-pl-f-a lu ú-da-aš-ša-am, ²⁹pa-pa-ḥa šu-ba-at bi-bi-ti-šu ³⁰ḥurašu na-am-ra-am ša-al-la-ri-iš lu aš-ta-ak-ka-an ³¹baba-kuzba rapša ḥurašu u-ša-al-bi-iš-ma ³²bita a-na ilu Zar-pa-ni-tum bí-il-ti-ya ³³ku-uz-ba-am ú-za-'a-in.*
- 2 I R. 52, No. 3, Col. II., l. 13) I-na tu-ur-ri í-li-i šá abulli ilu Iš-ta-ar.
- 3 V R. 34, Col. I., 46) I-na Ī-sag-ila.....⁴⁶Ī-ku-a pa-pa-ḥa ilu Bíl ilāni ilu Marduk, ⁴⁹baba-kuzba-rapša šu-ba-at ilu Zar-pa-ni-tum.....⁵¹ḥurašu na-am-ru ú-ša-al-hi-iš.

- 16 The lofty, the great one, the lady, the goddess Nana, may she present my prayer to thee!
- 17 'Thy eye direct graciously unto me'—may she say to thee:
- 18 'Thy face turn graciously toward me'—may she say to thee:
- 19 'Let thy heart be at rest,' may she say to thee:
- 20 'Let thy soul be appeased,' may she say to thee:
- 21 Thy heart—like the heart of a bearing mother, may it return to its place!
- 22 Thy heart—as the heart of a bearing mother,—of a father who begets a child, may it return to its place!"*
-

MENTIONS OF ZARPANIT† IN SARGON 722-705 B. C.

- 1 "Cedar, cypress (and) all desirable aromatic herbs of Mount Khamani whose odor is good, for Bil, Zarpanit, Nabu, Taš-mit, and the gods who inhabit the cities of Sumir and Akkad from the beginning of my reign to my third year, I gave as a present.
-

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN NEBUCHADREZZAR, 605-562 B. C.

- 1 "16For each day one fine fat ox, an ox without blemish, 17the delight of pure dishes, 18the portion of the gods of Isagila and Babylon; 19fish, fowl, flesh(?), vegetables, tokens of abundance; 20honey, curd, milk, good oil, 21wine, mead, the drink of the mountains, 22clear wine, wine of Izallam, 23mount Tuimmu, mount Simmini, mount Khilbunim, 24mount Aranabanim, mount Suham, mount Bit(?)kubanim, and mount Bitatim, 25like the water of a river without measure 27for the table of Marduk and Zarpanit 28my lords I renewed. 29An adytum(?) the dwelling of his lordship with bright gold I brilliantly adorned, with a splendidly wide gate I enclosed it and a house for Zarpanit, my lady, I beautifully adorned."
-

- 2 "In the upper *turri* of the gate of IŠtar."
-

- 3 "In Isagila.....Ikua the adytum of the lord of the gods, Marduk, the splendidly broad gate, the abode of Zarpanit.....with bright gold I enclosed."
-

* The numbering of my lines does not correspond to that of the cuneiform. I have numbered the so-called Akkadian as though the partial Assyrian inter-linear translation did not exist.

† It will be noted that I identify Zarpanit with IŠtar of Babylon. The reasons for this will appear as we proceed.

- 4 (Oppert's *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, Vol. 2, p. 295) ¹*m ilu* Na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-šu-ur ²*šarri* Bab-ili-ki ³*apal m ilu* Na-bi-um-apal-u-šu-ur ⁴*šarri* Bab-ili-ki a-na-ku ⁵*bita šira*, ⁶*bit ilu* Zarpanit* ⁷*lib-ba* Bab-ili-ki ⁸*a-na ilu* Zarpanit ⁹*ru-ba-a-ti ši-ir-ti* ¹⁰*i-na* Bab-ili-ki ¹¹*i-š-ši-iš* ¹²*i-pu-uš*. ¹³*KI-SA-A* rabu ¹⁴*ina* kupri ¹⁵*u* agguri ¹⁶*š-a-aš-ši-ir-ša* ¹⁷*iprāti-pl* KI-DAM i-il-lu-tim ¹⁸*ki-ir-ba-ša* ¹⁹*ma-al-lum*. ²⁰*ilu* Zarpanit ²¹*um-mu ri-mi-ni-ti* ²²*ha-di-iš* ²³*na-ap-li-si-ma* ²⁴*da-am-ga-tu-ša* ²⁵*li-iš-ša-ak-na* ²⁶*ša-ap-tu-uk-ki*. ²⁷*ru-ub-bi-ši zi-ri-im* ²⁸*šu-un-ši-li* ²⁹*na-an-na-bi* ³⁰*i-na ki-ri-bi-it pa-ri-i-ya* ³¹*ša-al-mi-iš* ³²*su-ti-ši-ri* ³³*ta-li-it-ti*.
Cf. also *PSBA.*, Vol. X., May, 1888, Col. II. l. 54sqq.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN NABONIDUS, 556-539 B. C.

- 1 (I R. 69. 21sqq.) *ù pu-luḫ-ti ilu Sin bīl ilāni-pl ù ilu Iš-tar* ²²*i-na ša-ma-mu lib-bi niši-šu*.....²³*li-ku-nu*
- 2 (V R. 64. Col. I. 43) *Um-ma-ni-ya rap-ša-a-ti-ya ša ilu Sin ilu Šamaš u ilu Ištar bili-pl-i-a ya-ti i-ki-pu-ni*.
- 3 (Strassmaier, *Bab. Text. Neb.*, Heft IV., No. 907, l. 15) *apal amilu šangu ilu Ištar Babili-ki*. Cf. also No. 855, l. 12; No. 846, l. 11; No. 417, l. 21; No. 637, l. 15; No. 113, l. 18; No. 932, l. 19; No. 999, l. 13; No. 335, l. 11.

MENTIONS IN CYRUS, 539-529 B. C.

- 1 (Strassmaier, *Bab. Text. Cyr.*, No. 175, l. 16) *apal amilu šangu ilu Ištar Babili-ki*. Cf. also No. 126, l. 20; No. 96, l. 12; No. 141, l. 16; No. 281, l. 14; No. 372, l. 9; No. 227, l. 9; No. 347, l. 13; No. 339, l. 20; No. 332, l. 38.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN CAMBYSES 529-521 B. C.

- 1 Stras., *Bab. Texte Cam.*, No. 43, l. 18) *apal amilu šangu ilu Ištar Babili-ki*. Cf. also No. 194, l. 16 et al.

ASTROLOGICAL.

- 1 (III R. 53. Col. II. 35) *kakkabu Dilbad ina ilu Šamaš aši ilu Ištar A-ga-di-ki*.....³⁶*kakkabu Dilbad ina Šamaš iribi ilu Ištar Uruk-ki*....³⁷*kakkabu Dilbad ina ilu Šamaš aši ilu Ištar kakkabani-pl*. ³⁸*kak-kabu Dillbad ina ilu Šamaš iribi bilat ilani-pl*.

* This might be read Ištar also. The ideogram means "the exalted queen."

- 4 "Nebuchadrezzar¹, ²king of Babylon, ³son of Nabopolassar, ⁴king of Babylon am I. ⁵A lofty house, ⁶the house of Zarpanit, ⁷within Babylon, ⁸unto Zarpanit, ⁹the exalted princess ¹⁰in Babylon ¹¹anew ¹²I made. ¹³With a great moat(?) ¹⁴in bitumen ¹⁵and brick ¹⁶I surrounded it, ¹⁷with earth a lofty mound(?) ¹⁸its midst ¹⁹I filled. ²⁰O Zarpanit, ²¹merciful mother ²²joyfully ²³look and ²⁴my work—²⁵let it be established ²⁶by thy command. ²⁷Enlarge my seed; ²⁸multiply ²⁹my offspring ³⁰in the midst of my harem(?) ³¹peacefully ³²make prosperous ³³birth."

In Strassmaier's *Bab. Text*, Heft V., No. 228, Rev., l. 14, a witness is described as "apal amīlu šāngu ilu Ištār Babili-ki" "son of the priest of Ištār of Babylon."

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN NABONIDUS, 556-559 B. C.

- 1 "And the worship of Sin, lord of the gods and of Ištār in heaven, in the heart of its people. may it be established."
- 2 "My extensive forces which Sin, Šamaš and Ištār my lords entrusted to me."

On a contract tablet as appears on the opposite page, a man is described as "son of the priest of Ištār of Babylon." From the references there given, it will be noticed that this designation is not infrequent.

MENTIONS OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN THE REIGN OF CYRUS 539-529 B. C.

As will be seen by the opposite page the designation "son of the priest of Ištār of Babylon," occurs frequently in the contract tablets of the reign of Cyrus.

MENTION OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN CAMBYSES 529-521 B. C.

- 1 As the references on the opposite page show us again the designation "Son of a priest of Ištār of Babylon" appears in a contract tablet of the reign of Cambyses.

ASTROLOGICAL.

- 1 ³⁵The star Dilbad (Venus) at the rising of the sun is the Ištār of Agade. ³⁶The star Dilbad at the setting of the sun is the Ištār of Erech. ³⁷The star Dilbad at the rising of the sun is the Ištār of the stars. ³⁸The star Dilbad at the setting of the sun is the Ištār of the gods."

MENTION IN HERODOTUS.

- 1 (Book I. § 199) ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοις ὄδε. ὄξει πᾶσαν γυνᾱκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱερομένην ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἀπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὅκας ἀξιομένους ἀναμίγεσθαι τῆσι ἄλλῃσι ὕαι πλόντῃ ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ξενόγεον ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσσαι πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστῶσι. ῥεραπήνῃ δὲ σφι ὀρισθε ἔπειτα πολλῇ αἱ δὲ πλείονες ποίκουσι ὥδε. ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέσται στέφανον περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θύμειγος πολλὰ γυνᾱκες. αἱ μὲν προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενεῖς δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ὅς ὦν αἱ ξείνοι διεξιδόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἐνθα ἐπεὶν ἱζηται γυνή ὅν πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς αἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τῶν ἱερῶν. ἐμβαλόντι δὲ ὅς ἐκπέειν τοσόνδε "ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργυρίον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὦν. ὅν γὰρ μὴ ἀπόσῃται. ὅν γὰρ αἱ θέμις ἐστὶ γίνεται γὰρ ἱερὸν τῶντο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπειτα ὁδὲ ἀποδοκιμῇ ὁδῶν. ἐπεὶν δὲ μιχθῇ ὑποσυσταμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία καὶ τῶντο τῶντο ὅκας ὅκας μετὰ τὸν ὅκας ὡς μὴ λάμψεται, ὅσαι μὲν νῦν εἰδέος τε ἐπαμύνει ἐσὶ καὶ μεγάθος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ὁμορφαὶ αὐτέων ἐσὶ χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι ὅν δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ τριεῖς καὶ τετραεῖς μετεξέτεροι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τοῦτῃ νόμος.

Cf. for another description of the same custom, Strabo XVI. 1. 20.

1 Apocryphal epistle of Jeremiah, vs. 42 and 43 :

αἱ δὲ γυνᾱκες περιθέμεναι σχοινία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐγκάθηνται, θυμῶσαι τὰ πίτυρα. ὅταν δὲ τις αὐτῶν ἐφελκυσθῇσιν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν παραπορευομένων κοιμηθῇ, τὴν πλησίον οὐκιδίζει, ὅτι ὅκας ἡξίωται ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὴ ὅτε τὸ σχοινίον αὐτῆς διετράγγη.

We must now devote a few words to the identification of Iṣtar and Zarpanit. If we were right in referring the so-called Akkadian hymn quoted at the beginning of this chapter to the Iṣtar of Babylon, the worship of this goddess was known there at a very early time. The probability that this is a correct view is greatly increased when we consider the antiquity of Iṣtar worship at Nineveh, Erech, and as we shall see at Agade. That the Babylonians should neglect her worship, when their kinsmen were so faithful to it is hardly to be accepted without proof. But there is positive proof that they did not neglect it. In the reign of Nebuchadrezzar there was a gate of Iṣtar at Babylon, and from his reign to that of Cambyses we have traced the priests of the Iṣtar of Babylon in the contract tablets. In the time of Herodotus, too, we have seen what a hold Iṣtar worship had on the whole Babylonian community. This hold could not

MENTION OF IŠTAR OF BABYLON IN HERODOTUS.

- 1 "But the most disgraceful of the Babylonian customs is the following. Every native woman is obliged once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. But many disdaining to mingle with the rest, being proud on account of their wealth, come in covered carriages and take their stand in the temple. A numerous train follows those, but the rest do as follows: Many sit in the temple of Aphrodite wearing about their heads a crown of cord. Some are coming in, others are going out. Passages lead in straight lines in every direction through the women, along which the strangers passing, make their choice. When once a woman has seated herself there she must not return home until some stranger has thrown a piece of silver into her lap and lain with her outside the temple. He who throws the silver must say, thus, "I beseech the goddess Mylitta to favor thee." The Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta. The size of the silver may be ever so small, for she will not reject it, inasmuch as it is not lawful to do so, for the silver is accounted sacred. She follows the first man that throws, and refuses no one. But when she has had intercourse, and has discharged her obligation to the goddess, she returns home, and after that time however much you may give her, you will not gain possession of her. As many now as are endowed with beauty and good form are soon set free, but the ugly are detained a long time through inability to satisfy the law, for some wait a space of three or four years. In some parts of Cyprus also there is a custom very similar to this."
-

- 1 It is this same custom, moreover, to which the apocryphal letter of Jeremiah, bears witness. In a strain in which the prophet is represented as warning the Israelites against Babylonian gods and customs he says, vs. 42, 43 : "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways burn bran as incense: but if any of them drawn by the passers-by lies with him, she reproaches her neighbor, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."
-

have been maintained with its repulsive grossness had the cult not had an unbroken continuity from ancient times. When we remember that Zarpanit was a mother goddess, and that as the wife of Marduk, the chief Babylonian deity she occupied the same position in Babylon that IŠtar did at Nineveh, the conclusion cannot be escaped that IŠtar and Zarpanit were one.

Zarpanit is usually explained as the "seed-builder" (*zar-panit*). This etymology is perhaps incorrect. I have, however, none more satisfactory to offer. But whatever its original meaning, it was undoubtedly an epithet of *Ištar* at Babylon, as *Bilit* was at Nineveh, and, as we saw in the case of *Bilit*, may have sometimes been regarded as a separate deity. Indeed there seems to be evidence in our hymn itself that such was the case. The spouse of *Marduk*, (evidently referring to *Zarpanit*) and *Nana*, another old name for *Ištar*, are both asked to intercede with *Ištar* for the suppliant, as though even then the different name suggested a different personality. We shall find a somewhat parallel case in the *Ashtart* of *Sidon*.

As to the history of the *Ištar* cult at Babylon, we have already said about all there is to say on that point. The worship evidently originated in the hoary antiquity of Babylonian times, although, from the scantiness of extant materials we can discover traces of it only occasionally. In the later *Sargon* and the second Babylonian empire we find numerous though scanty references to it, while the passage quoted from *Herodotus* shows that it continued in full force in his day. Indeed, unless the passage in *Strabo* referred to above be but an echo of *Herodotus*, the worship of *Ištar* at Babylon may be traced to the beginning of our era.

Two mythological statements only require notice here. The first is that at Babylon *Ishtar-Zarpanit* was the wife of *Marduk*. This is but what we should expect, finding parallels to it at Nineveh, *Sidon* and *Carthage*; the point to be noted, however, is that as early as our hymn, i. e. as early as the so-called *Akkadian* period, Babylonian society had passed beyond the polyandrous stage, and was organized on a family basis. The other statement is the identification of *Ištar* with the planet *Venus*. This, it is true may not have taken place at Babylon. Our only reason for referring it to this shrine is the well known astrological reputation of *Babylonia*. This identification is certainly Babylonian if it was not first made at Babylon itself. At what date it was made we have no means of knowing, but it was certainly before the time of *Assurbanipal*. It marks still another step in religious conception, indicating that to the Babylonians gods were now celestial as well as chthonic.

Ištar at Babylon was conceived of as a goddess of fertility, and as a queen. As the goddess of fertility she is "the begetress of the gods," the "begetress of all," the one who "makes offspring thrive," and the producer of verdure." As such she pities as a father or a mother, she may be appealed to in distress, and may be expected to have mercy on the suppliant. According to *Herodotus* she was called *Múlitra*, which is the Assyrian *Mulittu* for *Mulidtu* from מִלְיָה. This name never occurs in the inscriptions, but may, as Professor *Sayce* suggests, have been the popular name for her nevertheless.

In the custom, submitted to by all native Babylonian women, described by Herodotus and Strabo, we have an example of the persistency of religious practices. As we saw in the last section, such customs could only originate in a polyandrous or a promiscuous state of society, such as the progenitors of the citizens of Erech certainly were. Such a state of society had almost if not quite vanished from the Assyrio-Babylonian peoples before any of our so-called Akkadian hymns were written, and yet for centuries, in spite of an advancing civilization which must have made many a pure woman abhor such a practice, the custom of putting oneself under the protection of the goddess of fertility by the sacrifice of chastity went on unhindered. This, as we shall see and as Herodotus intimates, was not peculiar to Babylon alone.

But Ištar at Babylon was a queen as well as a mother. She was the "lady of mankind," "the majestic lady," the "fulfiller of the commands of Bil." This, the goddess of a monarchical people, must of course have been.

As to the form of the cult at Babylon, we have some hint from Nebuchadrezzar. He speaks in the inscription quoted from Oppert, as though the temple of Ištar were a separate building, but we learn from his other inscriptions that she and Marduk occupied different shrines in the great temple of Isagila. It is, of course, possible that Ištar had also at Babylon a separate temple, as Aštart did at Sidon. The shrine of Ištar was richly adorned with gold. He also gives us a list of the viands prepared for the table of Marduk and Ishtar. We are left in doubt as to what part of this provision was intended for sacrifice and what for the sustenance of the temple priests and employees. The fish, fowl, flesh, vegetables, honey, curd, milk, oil, mead and great varieties of wine, look like provisions for a temple retinue, such as we shall see was made in Cyprus; while the ox, provided daily, might point either to such provision, or to sacrifice. If, however, no distinction had yet been made between sacrifice and a feast, as had not been done in Assyria a century earlier, all this provision would apply equally as well to both, as both would blend into one. In the absence of other testimony we must leave this point undecided.

§6. IŠTAR OF AGADE.

LEGEND OF SARGON WHO LIVED CIR. 3800 B. C.

- 1 (III R. 4, No. 7) ¹Šarru-kinu šarru dan-nu šarri A-ga-di-ki a-na-ku. ²am-mi
 i-ni-tum, a-bi ul i-di. aḫu abi-ya i-ra-mi ša-da-a. ³a-li *alu* A-zur-pi-
 ra-a-ni ša i-na a-ḫi *naru* Puratu šak-nu ⁴i-ra-an-ni um-mu i-ni-tum
 i-na bu-uṣ-ri ú-lid-an-ni ⁵iš-kun-an-ni i-na kup-pi ša išiši i-na kupri
 baba-ya ip-ḫi ⁶id-dan-ni a-na nari ša la i-li-a. ⁷iš-ša-an-ni *naru* ili *m*
 Ak-ki *amilu* Naḫ-mi ú-bil-an-ni ⁸*m* Ak-ki *amilu* Naḫ-mi i-na ti-ib
ú-ši-la-an-ni ⁹*m* Ak-ki *amilu* Naḫ-mi a-na ma-ru-ti.....u-rah-
 ban-ni. ¹⁰*m* Ak-ki *amilu* Naḫ-mi a-na *amilu* NU-IS-ŠAR-TI-ŠU....
 [iš]-kun-an-ni ¹¹.....*amilu* NU-IS-ŠAR-TI V *ilu* Iš-tar lu-u i-ra-man-ni.

HYMN TO IŠTAR.*

(ASKT., 122 sqq.)

- 1 ".....he raises(?) to thee a wall(?).....
- 2 [] he raises to thee a wall;
- 3 [On account of his face which for] tears is not raised, he raises to thee a wall;
- 4 [On account of his feet] on which fetters are laid, he raises a wall to thee;
- 5 [On account of] his [hand] which is quiet in weakness, he raises to thee a wall;
- 6 On account of his breast which like a *mulila* raises a cry, he raises to thee a wall;
- 7 O lady, with outpouring of heart, I earnestly raise to thee my voice, how long?"
- 8 O lady, to thy servant—speak pardon to him, let thy heart be pacified!
- 9 To thy servant who suffers pain—favor grant him!
- 10 Thy neck turn to him, receive his entreaty!
- 11 Unto thy servant with whom thou art angry—be favorable to him!"

Reverse.

- 1 "O lady, my hands are bound, I cling(?) to thee.
- 2 On account of the lofty warrior, Šamaš, thy beloved husband seize(?) my hand, and
- 3 (In) a life of distant days before thee let me walk!
- 4 My god, he besets thee with a penitential prayer, let thy heart be pacified!
- 5 My goddess, he addresses to thee a petition, let thy emotions be quieted!
- 6 The lofty warrior, Anu, thy beloved husband, may he present my prayer to thee!
- 7The just god—may he present my petition to thee!
- 8Thy lofty [servant]—may he present my prayer to thee!

* For the reasons assigned before no transliteration of this hymn is offered. One will be found in Zimmern's *Babylontische Hymnen*, p. 51.

§ 6. IŠTAR OF AGADI.

LEGEND OF SARGON, WHO LIVED CIR. 3800 B. C.*

- 1 "Sargon, the mighty king, king of Agade am I. 2My mother was a princess; my father I did not know. The brother of my father was in possession of the mountain. 3At the city Azurpirani which is situated on the Euphrates, 4my mother, the princess conceived me, in secret she brought me forth. 5She placed me in a cage of reeds(?) with bitumen my entrance she closed, 6she entrusted me to the river which did not overflow me. 7The river carried me, to Akki, the irrigator, it brought me. 8Akki, the irrigator in the goodness(?).....took me up. 9Akki, the irrigator as a son.....brought me up. 10Akki, the irrigator as a forester.....established me. [Over] five foresters Ištar established me," etc.

- 9 ".....The mighty one of E-babara, may he present my petition to thee!
10 [Thine eye turn faithfully] unto me,' may he say to thee!
11 [Thy face turn faithfully to] me,' may he say to thee!
12 [Let thy heart be at rest'], may he say to thee!
13 [Let thy feelings be pacified'], may he say to thee
14 [Thy heart like the heart of a bearing mother], may it return to its place!
15 [Like the heart of a bearing mother—of a father who begets a child], may it return to its place!†

Penitential-psalm to *Malkatu*.‡

The other references to Ištar of Agade are very few. Accepting Zimmern's identification of *Malkatu* with Ištar we have a few references in Nabonidus. Cf. V R. 65. Col. 35, "bita da-ra-a a-na ilu Šamaš u ilu Malkati bīlī-pī-a 2 lu-pu-uš," "An everlasting house to Shamash and Malkatu, my lords, I built." Cf. also Col. II., 1. 12; V R. 61. Col. I., ll. 7 and 46; Col. II., ll. 5 and 40, in all of which she is classed with Shamash as one of the two supreme deities. The only other reference to the Ištar of Agade I have found is the inscription contained on a little clay tablet in the collection of Harvard University. This tablet is about 1½ inches long and ¾ inches wide and is inscribed on one side only. The inscription is as follows:

* Since this MS. was written the publication of Pt. I. Vol. I. of the *Cuneiform Texts of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, by Professor H. V. Hilprecht, has brought to light evidence which tends to vindicate the historical character of some of the statements contained in this legend. Cf. op. cit., pp. 12-26.

† It will be noticed that I have numbered my lines according to the sense. Many of these are represented in the cuneiform by two lines, one in the so-called Akkadian and the other repeating the same thought in undisputed Assyrian.

‡ I follow Zimmern, *Buss.*, p. 61, in identifying *Malkatu* with Ištar of Sippar or Agade. Cf. also Schrader's article on it, *ZA.*, III., p. 353sq.

§ So Peiser after Delitzsch. R. has "ip."

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 XXV manu-u | 1 "Twenty-five manas |
| 2 ša ilu Istar A-ga-di-ki | 2 of Istar of Agade. |
| 3 m ilu Bil-apal-id-din | 3 Bil-apal-iddin |
| 4 apal m ilu Marduk-imku. | 4 son of Marduk-imku." |

From a glance at the above material, it is evident that little can be said of the history of the Istar-worship at Agade. That worship is connected in legend with Sargon, whose date is the oldest known date in Babylonian history. The only other point at which we can identify the worship is in the reign of Nabonidus some 3300 years later. If the worship existed at this place at the first-named date it is probable that it continued uninterruptedly through all those centuries, and for how much longer we have no means of knowing.

Of the form of the cult at Agade we have no testimony, but it probably differed little if at all from the cult of Istar of Babylon.

One curious mythological statement comes out in the penitential psalm. Istar is represented as the wife of both Shamash and Anu. Either we are to infer from this that Anu and Shamash are here different names of the same god, or what seems more probable, we have here a trace of the old polyandry, in which Istar had her birth, still lingering in this psalm.

Of the religious ideas connected with this Istar our material affords little information. Both the tone of the address to her in the psalm, and the title *Malkatu* indicate that as early as the so-called Akkadian period, she was regarded as a queen, and the tone of penitence and the keen consciousness of estrangement from the deity revealed in this hymn as well as in those before quoted, denote even at that early date, not only a well organized monarchical society but a very sensitive religious feeling.

§ 7. IŠTAR OF THE SUTI.

In III R. 66 there is a list of the images of the gods in a temple of the Suti, a people who lived on the east of Babylonia, which has for us some interest, as it contains at least one curious fact about Istar. The list begins in Col. VI. of the reverse, l. 18, and is headed *ilu Aššur ilu Istar ša Su-ti*. It is as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 20 <i>ilu Istar šalmu ša Su-ti.</i> | 20 "Istar, the image, of the Suti." |
| 21 <i>ilu Istar šalmi-pl ša Su-ti.</i> | 21 "Istar, the images, of the Suti." |
| 22 <i>ilu Istar ni-ru ša Su-ti.</i> | 22 "Istar, the subjugator, of the Suti." |
| 23 <i>ilu Istar ni-ip-ḥu ša Su-ti.</i> | 23 "Istar, the rising, of the Suti." |
| 24 <i>ilu Istar nam-ru ša Su-ti.</i> | 24 "Istar, the bright, of the Suti." |
| 25 <i>ilu Istar niš-pl ša Su-ti.</i> | 25 "Istar, the lions, of the Suti." |
| 26 <i>ilu Istar ilu zi-f ša Su-ti.</i> | 26 "Istar, the <i>zi-i</i> of the Suti." |

Of the worship of Ištar among this people I have found no other trace, but the testimony here presented is interesting. From it we learn that they worshipped Ištar, and that they represented her by images. She is called, moreover, the subjugator, indicating that among them she was, in one of her phases at least, a goddess of war, as she was at Nineveh, Arbela, and Erech. The epithets, "the rising," and "the bright" indicate that as among the Babylonians she had been identified with some heavenly body, and that astral worship had begun among them. The most remarkable fact brought out in this, however, is that there was an "Ištar, the lions." This would seem to indicate that among this people the lion had some especial connection with Ištar, as we shall have occasion to see that the bull, sheep, boar, and dove did in other lands. Had the lion not been an animal sacred to Ištar, or in some way totemistically connected with her, it would be difficult to explain why a people should make a statue of her in such form that it could be called the "Ištar, the lions." We must not dwell upon this fact here, but shall have occasion to refer to it again in a future section.

Before passing from the cuneiform material to other sources of information about Ištar we must note one other fact peculiar to no particular shrine, and that is the use of the word *ištar* in the sense of goddess. In the penitential psalm this word is frequently so used in the singular as in *ASKT.* 115. 14, 123. 10, IV R. 10. 6, etc. But the plural is very often used for goddesses. Cf. Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte Sargon II.*, No. 53, l. 6 and No. 77, l. 8, Smith's *Sennacherib*, pp. 140, 143 and 144, V R. 6. 44, I R. 12. 38, etc. This too is a fact to which we must return at a later point.

In taking leave of the cuneiform sources of information, let me remark that the statement is frequently made, I think, on the authority of Professor Sayce, that there was a class of *kadišti* or prostitutes who acted as priestesses in the temples of Ištar. While this may have been the case, and from the analogy of the Astoreth cult in Palestine we should expect it to be so, I have found no trace of it in the original sources of information. Strassmaier's *Verzeichniss* gives but one reference to the word, viz., II R. 32. 2, where it occurs in a list, and that so broken as to be unintelligible.

§ 8. ASHTART OF PHOENICIA.

MENTIONS OF ASHTART IN PHOENICIA.

(Revue Archéologique, Jul. 1887, p. 2.)

- 1 אנך תבנת כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם בן
 2 אשמנעור כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם שכב בארן
 3 ז מי את כל אדם אש תפק אית הארן ז אל אל ת-
 4 פתח עלתי ואל תרגון כ אי ארלן כסף אי ארלן
 5 חרין וכל מנם משר בלת אנך שכב בארן זאל אל תפת-
 6 ח עלתי ואל תרגון כ תעבת עשתרח הרבר הא

NOTES.

1. 4. I follow Driver's suggestion that ארלן is a transliteration of the Greek *εἰδωλον*.

1. 5, seems to be Aram. מאן. This is the plural.

בלת. Is the Hebrew בלתי. Cf. Driver's Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel, p. xxviii.

C. I. S., No. 3, 13 sq. Schröder, *Phönizische Sprache*. Tafel I., l. 13 sq.

13 כ אנך אשמנעור מלך צדנם בן מלך תבנת מלך צדנם בן בן מלך
 אשמנעור מלך צדנם ואמי אמעשתרת¹⁵ כהנת עשתרת
 רבתן המלכת בת מלך אשמנעור מלך צדנם אם בנן אית בת
¹⁶אלנם אית ובת עשתרות בצרן ארץ ים וישבן* אית עשתרת שם
 מאדרם ואנחן¹⁷ איש בנן בת לאשמון נקדש ען ידלל בהר
 וישבני שם מאדרם ואנחן איש בנן בתם¹⁸ לאלן צדנם בצרן
 ארץ ים בת לבעל צרן ובת לעשתרת שם בעל

C. I. S., No. 4, Schröder, *op. cit.* Tafel II.

בירת.. מפ.. בשת II [למלכ]
 י מלך בדעשתרת מלך
 צדנם כבן בדעשתרת
 מלך צדנם אית שרן ארץ
 ל.. לי לעשתרת

C. I. S., No. 8, Schröder, *op. cit.* Tafel III., 2.

למלך עשתרת אל חמן
 אש נדר עבראשמן על בני

(Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, § 4.)

*Ενι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἱπὸν ἐν Φοινίκῃ μέγα, τὸ Σιδώνιοι ἔχουσι, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Ἀστάρτης ἐστὶ.
 Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληνίαν ἐμμεναι.

* I read as above, following the Corpus. Schröder transliterates it וישרן.

§ 8. ASHTART OF PHOENICIA.

MENTIONS OF ASHTART IN PHOENICIA.

Revue Archéologique, Jul. 1887, p. 2.

- 1 "I, Tabnith, priest of Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, son² of Eshmunazer, priest of Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, am lying in this sarcophagus.³ Whoever thou art among men who shalt come upon this sarcophagus, do not⁴ open my sepulchral chamber nor trouble me, for there is no image of silver nor any image of⁵ gold, nor any jewels of *meshed*. Alone I am lying in this sarcophagus. Do not open my sepulchral chamber, nor trouble me, for that thing is an abomination to Ashtart."
-

C. I. S., No. 3, l. 13sq.

- "For I am Eshmunazer, king of the Sidonians, son of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmunazer, king of the Sidonians, and my mother is Am-ashtart, the priestess of Ashtart, our lady, the queen, the daughter of king Eshmunazer; behold we built the house of the gods—the house of Ashtart in Sidon, the land of the sea, and we caused Ashtart to dwell there, glorifying her, and we are they who built a house for Eshmun and consecrated the spring Zidal in the mountain, and we caused him to dwell there, glorifying him, and we are they who built houses for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon, the land of the sea, a house to Baal of Sidon, and a house to Ashtart, the name of Baal."
-

C. I. S., No. 4.

- "In the month in the second year of his kingdom, king Bodashtart, king of the Sidonians, subdued Sharon, a land to Ashtart."
-

C. I. S., No. 8.

- "For Malik-Ashtart, the god Hammon which Ebedeshmun vowed on account of his son."
-

Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, § 4.

- "There is also in Phœnicia another great temple which the Sidonians have. According to them it belongs to Astarte, but I think Astarte is a moon goddess."

Sanchoniathonis Fragmenta, p. 30.

Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος Οὐρανόθεν ἐν Φυγῇ τυγχάνων, θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ πάρθενον Ἀστάρτην μεθ' ἐτέρων αὐτῆς ἀδελφῶν δύο, Ῥέας καὶ Διώνης, δόλῳ τὸν Κρόνον ἀνελκεῖν ὑποπέμπει, ἃς καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Κρόνος κουριδίας γαμετὰς ἀδελφὰς οὕσας ἐποιήσατο.
Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ Ἀστάρτης θυγατέρες ἐπὶ τὰ Τιτανίδες ἢ Ἀρτέμιδες.

Again, p. 34.—Ἀστάρτη δὲ ἡ μεγίστη, καὶ Ζεὺς Δημαρὺς, καὶ Ἀδωβος Βασιλεὺς θεῶν ἐβασίλειον τῆς χώρας Κρόνου γνῶμη· ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ Βασιλείας παρὰ σῆμον κεφαλὴν ταύρου. Περινοστοῦσα δὲ τὴν ὑκουμένην ἔνθεν ἀεροπετῇ ἀστέρα, ὅν καὶ ἀνελομένη ἐν Τύρῳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ νῆσῳ ἀφίερωσε. Τὴν δὲ Ἀστάρτην φοίνικας τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι λέγουσι.

(Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, § 9.) Ἀνέβην δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Λίβανον ἐκ βύβλου, ὁδὸν ἡμέρης, πνυθόμενος ἀντόθι ἀρχαῖον ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἑμμεναι, τὸ Κινύρης εἶσατο· καὶ εἶδον τὸ ἱρὸν, καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἦν.

(Lucian, *op. cit.*, § 6 sq.) Ἐίδον δὲ καὶ ἐν βύβλῳ μέγα ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης βυβλῆς, ἐν τῷ καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐς Ἀδωνιν ἐπιτελοῦσι· ἐδάην δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄργια· λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι ὡς τὸ ἐργον τοῦ ἐς Ἀδωνιν ὑπὸ τοῦ σὸς, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ σφετέρῃ γενέσθαι, καὶ μνήμην τοῦ πάθεος τύπονται τε ἐκάστου ἔτεος, καὶ θυρῆνουνσι, καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπιτελοῦσι, καὶ σφίσι μεγάλα πένθεα ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης ἴσταται. ἑπεὰν δὲ ἀποτίψωνται τε, καὶ ἀποκλαύσωνται, πρῶτα μὲν καταγίζουσι τῷ Ἀδώνιδι ὅπως ἐόντι νέκυϊ, μετὰ δὲ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ζῶειν τέ μιν μυθολογοῦσι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἥερα πέμπουσι, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ξυρεῖνται ὅπως Λιγύπτιοι, ἀπόθιανόντος Ἀπιοῦ. γυναικῶν δὲ ὁκόσαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι ξυρέεσθαι, τοῖσινδε ζημίην ἐκτελοῦσι· ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ πρῆσει τῆς ὥρης ἴστανται, ἡ δὲ ἀγορὴ μόνουσι ξένουσι παρακτάται, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην θυσίῃ γίγνεται.....

(Lucian, *op. cit.*, § 8)—Ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι θεῶμα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ βυβλίῃ ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου τοῦ οὐρεας, ἐς τὴν ἅλα ἐκδιδοί· σὺνομα τῷ ποταμῷ Ἀδωνίς ἐπικέεται ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκάστου ἔτεος ἀμάρσσειται, καὶ τὴν χροίην ὀλέσας, ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ φοινίσσει τὸ πολλὸν τοῦ πελάγεος καὶ σημαίνει τοῖς βυβλίοις τὰ πένθεα· μυθῶνται δὲ ὅτι ταυτησί τῆς ἡμέρης ὁ Ἀδωνίς ἀπὸ τὸν Λίβανον τιτρώσκειται, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρχόμενον ἀλλάσσει τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τῷ ῥόῳ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην διδοί. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι. ἐμοὶ δὲ τις ἀνὴρ βύβλιος, ἀληθεῶς δοκέων λέγειν, ἐτέρην ἀπηγγέτο τοῦ πάθεος αἰτίην.

Sanchoniathensis Fragmenta,* p. 30.

- "But as time advanced while Ouranos was in banishment, he sent his virgin daughter **Astarte**, with two others of her sisters, Rhea and Dione to cut off **Kronos** by treachery, whom Kronos took and married although they were **his sisters**."
- "And by **Astarte**, Kronos had seven daughters called Titanides or Artemides."

Again p. 84:

- "But **Astarte**, the greatest and Zeus Demarous and Adodus, king of the gods reigned over the country by consent of Kronos; and **Astarte** put upon her head, as a mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head; and traveling about the habitable world, she found a star falling through the air which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre. And the Phœnicians say that **Astarte** is the same as Aphrodite."

Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, § 9.

- "But I went also towards Libanus from Byblos a day's journey, and found that there was there an old temple of Aphrodite which Cinyras founded; and I saw the temple and it was old."

Lucian, *op. cit.*, § 8 sq.

- "But I also saw in Byblos a great temple of Aphrodite of Byblos, in which also the rites to Adonis are performed. I also made enquiry concerning the rites; for they tell the deed which was done to Adonis by a boar in their own country, and in memory of his suffering they beat their breasts each year, and wail and celebrate these rites, and institute great lamentation throughout the country. But when they have bewailed and lamented, first they perform funeral rites to Adonis as if he were dead, but afterward upon another day they say he lives, and they cast (dust) into the air and shave their heads as the Egyptians do when Apis dies. But women such as do not wish to be shaven pay the following penalty: On a certain day they stand for prostitution at the proper time; and the market is open to strangers only, and the pay goes as a sacrifice to Aphrodite."

Lucian, *op. cit.*, § 8.

- "But there is also another marvel in the country of Byblos; a river from Mount Libanos empties into the sea. The name of the river is Adonis. But the river each year becomes bloody, and having lost its own complexion, falls into the sea and reddens a large part of the sea, and gives the signal for the lamentations to the inhabitants of Byblos. They say that in these days Adonis is wounded on Libanos, and his

* Ed. Orelli. Really extracts from Philo of Byblos.

ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε · Ὁ Ἄδωνις ὁ ποταμὸς, ὃ ξεῖνε, διὰ τοῦ Λιβάνου ἔρχεται · ὃ δὲ Λίβανος κάρτα ξανθόγελος ἐστὶ · ἀνεμοὶ ὧν τρηχθεὶς ἐκένησι τῆσι ἡμέρῃσι ἱστάμενοι τὴν γῆν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπιφέρουσι, ἐοῦσαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα μιλτώδεα · ἡ δὲ γῆ μιν αἰμώδεα τίθησι · καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους οὐ τὸ αἶμα, τὸ λέγουσι, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρη αἰτίη. ὁ μὲν μοι βίβλιος τοσῶντα ἀπηγγέτο · ἐὶ δὲ ἀτρεκέως τὰντα ἔλεγε, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ κάρτα θεῖη καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ἡ συντυχίη.

(Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* II., 5)—Καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἀφάκοις τῆς Ἀφροδίτης περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τὸ ἔρος καὶ Ἀδωνιν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν Ἀφάκοις δὲ κατ' ἐπικλήσιν τινὰ ἐκρηγὴν ἡμέραν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Λιβάνου πῦρ ἀφατατον, καθάπερ ἀστὴρ, εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον ποταμὸν ἐδύνεν. ἔλεγον δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Ὀυρανίαν εἶναι, ὡδὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλῶντες.

(Zozimus I., 58)—Ἀφάκα χωρίον ἐστὶ μέσον Ἡλιουπόλεως τε καὶ βίβλου, καθ' ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος ἰδρύται. τόνον πλησίον λίμνῃ τίς ἐστὶν εἰκὼνα χειροποίητω δεξαμενῇ. Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τόπους πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λαμπάδος ἢ σφαίρας φαίνεται δίκην, συνδύων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνοις τακτοῖς γινομένων, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμῶς ἐφαίνετο χρόνων.

As the preceding pages indicate, our material is too fragmentary to enable us to produce a connected sketch of the worship of Astart in Phœnicia. We have evidence of the existence of shrines at Sidon, Tyre, Byblos (Gebal), Aphaca, and on the road from Byblos to Lebanon,* but we have not the means of tracing the history of the worship at any of these shrines.

We have, perhaps, the greatest number of facts relating to the Astart of Sidon.

We learn from the inscription of Tabnith that Eshmunazer I. regarded himself as a priest of Astart, as did also his son Tabnith, and that Am-ashtart, Tabnith's queen, gloried in the title of priestess of Ashtart. We learn also from the inscription of Eshmunazer II., as well as from Lucian, that a temple of Ashtart existed there. Of the details of her worship at Sidon our material gives us no information. We are, however, assured of the high esteem in which Astart was held there.

Bod-Astart speaks of subduing Sharon to Astart, as an Israelitish king would speak of subduing it to Yahweh, or an Assyrian king, to Assur. This indicates that at Sidon Astart was almost the supreme divinity, and reminds one of the Old Testament phrase "Gods of the Sidonians," of which Ashtoreth so often makes one.

One of the most remarkable facts about Astart at Sidon is that in spite of our scanty information concerning her she appears in three different phases. First, there is the Astart pure and simple, to whom Bod-ashtart subdues Sharon,

* These last are, perhaps, the same.

blood going into the water changes the river, and gives to the stream its name. The majority tell this. But a certain man of Bbylos, who seemed to me to tell the truth, adduced another cause of the suffering. He spoke as follows: 'The river Adonis, O stranger, comes through Libanos; but Libanos has a great deal of yellow soil. Therefore, the hard winds in these days setting upon the soil bear it into the river—the soil being of an especially red color; and the soil gives it its bloody tint; and the country is the cause of this suffering, and not the blood as they say.' The Byblite adduced such causes to me, and if he related these things to me accurately, the incident of the wind seems to me especially supernatural."

Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* II., 5.

"And that (i. e. the temple) of Aphrodite at Aphaca near Mount Lebanon and the river Adonis And at Aphaca it was believed that on a certain prayer being uttered by day, a fire like a star descended from the top of Lebanon and sunk into the neighboring river. This phenomenon they sometimes called *Urania* and sometimes *Aphrodite*."

Zozimus I., 58.

"Aphaca is a place between Heliopolis and Byblos where is situated a temple of Aphrodite of Aphaca. Near this is a certain lake resembling a reservoir constructed by hand. Near the temple and the neighboring places fire like a torch or globe is seen, appearing in the place at stated times, which has been seen down to our own times."

and to whom Eshmunazer II. builds a temple. Second, Eshmunazer himself, in the very sentence in which he tells us he built a temple to Aštart, proceeds to distinguish from this Ashtart another which he describes as אֵשֶׁת בַּעַל, the name of Baal.* This Aštart shared the temple of Baal, and was undoubtedly regarded as his wife. Thus he seems to distinguish between Aštart as an independent goddess and Ashtart as the wife and companion of Baal. Perhaps it would be too much, in the fragmentary condition of our information, to conjecture from this that the independent Aštart to whom countries were subdued, was a virgin war goddess, like Ištār of Arbela, while the Ashtart of the name of Baal was a goddess of fertility and love, like Ištār of Nineveh. The evidence, however, is such as to suggest such a possibility.

* With "Aštart, the name of Baal," cf. Ex. XXIII. 20, 21, "Behold I send my messenger before thee.....hearken to his voice.....for my name is in him." The Jewish superstition connected with the divine name is well known. In this Exodus passage there seems to be a feeble attempt at a hypostasis of Yahweh, by making his name reside in the angel. May not our Phœnician expression "name of Baal" be a similar attempt to make Aštart a form or a sort of hypostasis of Baal? A similar attempt was made in North Africa where Tanith was called "the face of Baal." See § 13.

Third, we have, in the latest of our Phœnician inscriptions quoted at the head of this section, a deity called *Malik-ashtart*. This name would indicate the compounding of *Aštart* with *Molok* (or *Melek*), parallel with the *Ashtar-chemosh* of the Moabite stone, but whether the resulting divinity was considered masculine or feminine, or what conceptions were entertained concerning it our material does not reveal. This whole subject of compound divinities is very obscure.

It will be noticed that in a passage above quoted from *Lucian*, he gives it as his opinion that the *Aštart* of *Sidon* was a moon-goddess. This may, perhaps, be taken to indicate that in *Lucian's* time *Aštart* at *Sidon* was in some way connected in the popular mythology with the moon—perhaps identified with it. In the conclusion of the same paragraph *Lucian* tells us how the worship of this goddess was transplanted to *Cyprus*, giving us the old Greek story of *Europa* and the bull. It not only seems quite probable that some story connected with *Aštart* gave rise to the story of *Europa*, and that that story is a recollection of the introduction of the worship of the goddess into *Cyprus*, but that the mention of the bull in connection with it is evidence that at *Sidon* the bull was sacred to *Ashtart*. This last point, however, is a mere suggestion which the evidence will not permit us to press.

One further point we must notice before leaving *Sidon*. *Tabnith* warns anyone who may come upon his tomb, that to violate it is an abomination to *Aštart*. This would indicate that *Ashtart* was here regarded as the protectress of tombs. We shall find a parallel to this in *Athtar* among the *Sabæans*.

All that we know of the worship of *Ashtart* at *Tyre* comes from the fragments of *Sanchoniathon*, i. e. really from *Philo of Byblos*. Of his statements about the family relations of the goddess, coming to us as they do in a Greek dress, the only one which interests us is that she was the daughter of *Ouranos*. This gives us evidently a Semitic thought in a Greek setting. We saw in preceding sections that *Ištar* was often called "queen or lady of heaven and earth," and here we have evidently a similar conception twisted to suit Greek ideas.

Of much greater interest is the statement that "*Astarte* put upon her head as a mark of her sovereignty a bull's head." This, perhaps, has reference to some favorite style of representing the goddess at *Tyre*. At all events it gives us clear evidence that bulls were sacred to *Aštart* at *Tyre*, and confirms our suspicion that such was the case at *Sidon*. The statement of *Philo* that she "found a star falling through the air which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of *Tyre*," points to some sort of astral worship in connection with *Aštart* at this shrine, but indicates still more clearly that the shrine contained some sort of an *aerolite*, sacred to its divinity, as did the shrine of *Artemis* at *Ephesus*, and the *Kaaba* at *Mecca*.

Finally this writer tells us that Astarte and Aphrodite are synonymous, a statement which enables us to employ for our purposes considerable material from Greek writers.

Our knowledge of the worship of Ashtart at Byblos comes from Lucian. He tells us that people of all nations, even from distant Assyria, worshipped there. All that we know of the details of the worship, however, is contained in the quotation made above, which tells us chiefly of the rites of Adonis, which, from their character, we have no difficulty in identifying with the rites of Tammuz. The wailing at Byblos reminds one of the wailing at Nineveh, only here it is described in more detail. His narrative of the way they bewail Adonis, performing funeral rites as though he were dead, and then pretending afterwards that he lives, gives us valuable information about this whole matter to which we must return in a future discussion. It is important, too, to notice that the penalty on the part of the women who were not willing to sacrifice their hair on the day of the resurrection of Tammuz, was that they were compelled to sacrifice their chastity. The manner in which this was done reminds one strongly of the Babylonian custom discussed above in § 5. As Prof. W. R. Smith has pointed out (*Rel. of the Sem.*, p. 306 sq.), this custom of cutting the hair had its roots in a religious feeling, found not only in the Semitic but in other races, that in offering the hair one was offering an important part of himself. It is interesting here to notice, however, that a woman's hair and her chastity had about the same value, and if she would not offer the one she must the other. This sacrifice of chastity, moreover, points here as in Babylonia to the survival of a custom, embedded in conservative religious feeling, from a greatly anterior polyandrous age.

Before closing this sketch of the Ashtart-cult at Byblos we must call attention to the peculiarly local character given to the Tammuz myth at this place. He is killed by a boar in Lebanon, and his blood flows into and colors their river to such an extent that it colors in its turn a part of the sea. The growth of this myth here raises a question which we must reserve for our concluding section. We only observe now that its existence denotes a thorough naturalization in Phœnicia of the Tammuz story, and that at Byblos the boar was sacred to Aštart. The myth ingeniously attempts to account at one stroke for the custom of bewailing Tammuz, for the sacredness of the boar to Ashtart, for the reddening of the river, and also for its name, as well as for the fact that the wailing for Tammuz and the reddening of the river occurred at the same time.

It would be nearer the truth, probably, to say that the myth attempted to account for the days of wailing, the sacredness of the boar and the redness of the river, and that the rest of the custom grew with the story. As already noted, we have from Sozomen and Zozimus a slight account of a temple of Aštart at Aphaca. The main point, however, which the material from these writers makes prominent is that at certain seasons and on the utterance of certain prayers fire descended

like a star or a torch or a globe and disappeared in the lake. This reminds one of the falling star mentioned above which was consecrated at Tyre. This Aphaca legend probably originated in the identification of Ashtart with a planet, and then with a falling star, only here it was thought that the star fell miraculously at certain periods. These periods were probably the festal seasons of the goddess.

It should be added that the stag or gazelle also appears to have been sacred to Astart. On a Phœnician gem in the collection of Mr. Chester, an Englishman, the gazelle or antelope is figured along with the star and dove as symbols of Astart (W. R. Smith's *Kinship*, pp. 194, 195), while Porphyry (*De Abst.*, II. 56), and Pausanias (III. 16. 8), describe a feast at which a stag or gazelle is sacrificed to a goddess which turns out to be Astart. Cf. W. R. Smith's *Rel. of the Sem.*, p.

§ 9. ASHTORETH OF PALESTINE.

MENTIONS OF ASHTORETH IN PALESTINE.*

Judges x. 6.

וַיִּסְפוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיַּעֲבְרוּ אֶת-הַבְּעָלִים
וְאֶת-הָעֲשָׁתֹרוֹת וְאֶת-אֱלֹהֵי אַרָם וְאֶת-אֱלֹהֵי צִידוֹן

1 Sam. XXXI. 10.

וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת-כָּלֹוּ בֵּית עֲשָׁתֹרוֹת

2 Kings XXIII. 13 and Cf. 1 Kings XI. 5 and 33.

וְאֶת-הַבָּמֹת אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר מִימִין לַהֲרֵה-מְשָׁחִית אֲשֶׁר
בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשָׁתֹרֶת שָׁקָץ צִידָנִים

Deut. VII. 13—Cf. Deut. XXVIII. 4 and 18.

וְעֲשָׁתֹת צִאֲנָה

Joshua XIII. 31.

וְעֲשָׁתֹרוֹת וְאֲדָרְעֵי עָרֵי מַמְלַכּוֹת עֹג

Gen. XIV. 5.

וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶת-רָפָאִים בְּעֲשָׁתֹרֶת קָרְנִים

Jer. VII. 18.

הַבָּנִים מְלַקְטִים עֲצִים וְהָאֲבוֹת מְבַעְרִים אֶת-הָאֵשׁ וְהַנָּשִׁים לָשׂוֹת בָּצֶק
לַעֲשׂוֹת בֹּנִים לַמַּלְכֶּת הַשָּׁמַיִם

* Only those references are quoted which add information to our subject.

447. This gem, also, would indicate that the dove as well as the gazelle was sacred to Aštar, and that she was sometimes identified with the planet Venus as well as with the moon.*

As Prof. Smith points out, the goddess in question was not Greek or she would not have been identified with both Athene and Artemis, but is in all probability the Phœnician Aštar.

§ 9. ASTORETH OF PALESTINE.

MENTIONS OF ASTORETH IN PALESTINE.

"And again the children of Israel did evil in the eyes of Yahwe and served the Baalim and the Ashīaroḥ, the gods of Syria and the gods of Sidon." (Judges x. 6.)

"And they (the Philistines) put his (Saul's) armor in the house or Ashtoreth." (1 Sam. xxxi. 10.)

"And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption which Solomon, king of Israel, built for Ash-toreth the abomination of the Sidonians," etc. (1 Kings xxiii. 13.)

"The lambs of thy flock." (Deut. vii. 13.) It will be noted that עֲשָׂתֶרֶת here means lambs.

"And Ashtaroḥ and Edrei, cities of Og." (Josh. xiii. 31.) Ashtaroḥ is here the name of a city.

"And smote Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim" (Ashtaroḥ of horns). (Gen. xiv. 5.)

Cf. Jer. xlv. 17 and 18.

* (Pausanias III. 16.)

καὶ τοὶ διαμεμένηκεν ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τηλικούτο ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεῷ, ὥστε ἁμφισβητῶσι μὲν Καππάδοκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Εὐξείνιον οἰκοῦντες τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι παρὰ σφισιν· ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδῶν οἷς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναΐτιδος. Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ἄρα παρώφθῃ γενόμενον λάφυρον τῷ Μήδῳ· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ βραυρῶνος ἐκομίσθη τε ἐς Σοῦσα, καὶ ἕτερον Σελεύκου δόντος Σύριοι Λαοδικεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσι.

Eze. VIII. 14.

וְהִנֵּה-שָׁם הַנָּשִׁים יֹשְׁבוֹת מִבְּכוֹת אֶת-הַתְּמֹנָה

Herodotus I. 105. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶτε ἀναχωρόντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθίων παρεξελθόντων ἁσινέων ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειψθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς αὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱερὸν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος ἐνρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαῖοτατον ἱερῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεῆς· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱερὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθῆροις Φοῖνικὲς εἰσι οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔχοντες· τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθίων συλήσασσι τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τοῦτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσι τε ὅτι Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφεας νοσεῖν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωντοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται, τὸν καλέονσι Ἐνάρεας ὅι Σκύθαι.

It will be noticed that in the above quotations a very few have been selected. There are not many individual quotations one could make which in themselves would add information. Some of the other references will be noticed presently.

In the quotations made it will be seen that there is a trace of the worship of Ashtoreth in Israel in the time of the Judges.* True the word is used in the plural and might be translated goddesses, but their origin is referred to Sidon, and it is difficult to escape the conviction that it was the worship of Baal and Ashtart, which they practiced, and which we have already studied in its Phœnician home. But the definite statement is made of Solomon, that he built before Jerusalem a shrine to Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Sidonians. This is definite evidence of the existence of the worship of the Sidonian goddess in Palestine at least 500 years earlier than the date of any evidence now extant concerning her worship at her home. This makes us realize how scanty the information, furnished by our Phœnician sources about a worship which extended through centuries, is. Our Hebrew sources are, however, exceedingly reticent. While they refer several times to Ashtoreth it is in general terms of disapprobation without specifying particulars. In the mouths of Israel's prophets and prophetic historians, moreover, to whom the rigid morality of the Yahweh cult was a first postulate of religion, such terms as "the abomination of the Sidonians" undoubtedly imply that in Palestine some practice was fostered by the worship of this goddess as disgusting as those we have noticed at Byblos and Babylon.

Several passages in the Old Testament class the worship of Ashtoreth with the worship of Baal; e. g. Jud. II. 13, x. 6 and 1 Sam. VII. 4. From these it

* It should be noted, too, that Judges x. 6, is from the hand of a late writer. For our purposes, however, the date of the composition is unimportant.

"The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven." (Jer. VII. 18, cf. XLIV. 17, 18.)*

"Behold there sat women bewailing Tammuz." (Eze. VIII. 14).†

"On their return, however, they came to Ascalon, a city of Syria, and when most of them had marched through without doing any injury, some few who were left behind pillaged the temple of Celestial Aphrodite. This temple as I find by inquiry is the most ancient of all the temples dedicated to this goddess; for that in Cyprus was built after this as the Cyprians themselves confess; and that in Cythera was erected by Phœnicians who came from the same part of Syria. However, the goddess inflicted on the Scythians, who robbed her temple at Ascalon, and upon their descendants forever, a female disease; so that the Scythians confess that they are afflicted with it on this account, and those who visit Scythia may see in what a state they are whom the Scythians call Enarees."

would seem that Baal and Ashtoreth were often worshipped together in Palestine as they were in the temple at Sidon where Ashtart was the *שם בעל*. This would partially account for the scanty information about the Ashtoreth cult in Palestine as it would be then shrouded under the worship of Baal. It would seem from 2 Kgs. XXIII. 5-7, that male prostitutes were connected with the worship of Baal at Jerusalem, and from 1 Kgs. XVI. 31 and 32, in connection with the reading of the LXX. in 1 Kgs. XXII. 38, it would also seem that at Samaria there were female prostitutes connected with the borrowed Phœnician cult as it existed there. If as we have supposed the Ashtoreth and Baal cults were joined these facts would be very natural in both cases, Baal being also as Prof. W. R. Smith has shown (*Rel. of Sem.*, p. 99), a god of fertility. The existence of such phases in these popular cults would also afford a natural explanation for the legislation against prostitutes in Deut. XXIII. 17 and 18,‡ and may, I think, on the evidence presented be assumed as a fact.

Jeremiah, moreover, gives us a reference, in the passage quoted, which points to a different phase. This title "queen of heaven" by which he designates a

* On the identification of the "queen of heaven" with Ashteroth, cf. Stade, *Z.A.W.*, 1886, Schröder, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1886, and *Z.A.*, 1888, also an article of my own, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. X., p. 74.

† Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in his *Kypros*, a work published since this MS. was written, p. 137 ff. (cf. Plates LXX. XO. and CXV.) has shown, from archaeological objects found in Cyprus, great probability that "Holding the branch to the nose" in Eze. VIII. 17 was a custom of Ashtoreth-Tammuz worship.

‡ Clement, of Alexandria, renders *כלב* fornicator, *Instructor*, Book III. Ch. III.

goddess, we have found in preceding sections used of Ishtar, we have tracked it to Tyre, and have found it also at Ascalon. There can be little doubt that Ashtoreth is intended. If so we are given a glimpse of Ashtoreth ritual in Jeremiah's time. How the cakes were used which he describes we do not know, but may surmise that it was in a joyous feast to the goddess.

In this connection, remembering what we have learned about the connection of the boar with Astart at Byblos, and anticipating what we shall learn about it in Cyprus, we may, perhaps, find a trace of Ashtoreth worship in what Isaiah says about those 'who eat swine's flesh' in Isa. LXV. 4, and those 'who offer swine's blood' in Isa. LXVI. 3.

Ezekiel again gives us evidence, in the quotation made above, that the Tammuz wailing was known to, and we may infer, practiced by the Jews. He leaves us for details of it, however, to what we have learned elsewhere.

Ashtoreth seems to have been worshipped at many other places in Palestine besides Jerusalem, though fortunately her worship did not take permanent root in many places, and those in which it did were in the main outside of Hebrew territory. The temple of the celestial Aphrodite which Herodotus mentions at Ascalon, is the one of these about which we know most, though we only know of this that it existed, that it was very old, and that it is possibly the temple in which Saul's armor was hung after the fateful battle of Gilboa. The occurrence of Ashtaroth and Ashteroth-karnaim as the names of towns on the east of the Jordan indicate that there was a seat of the Ashtoreth-cult there. The latter town, moreover, indicates by its name, that some horned creature, as the bull or cow or ram, was there sacred to Ashtoreth. When, moreover, we find in the Deuteronomy passages noted above, עֲשָׂתָּרָה used for lambs, it becomes clear that if not among the Hebrews, at least among their Canaanitish predecessors, from whom they borrowed their language, the sheep was an animal sacred to Ashtoreth.

We must here digress a little to discuss the *Ashera*. This lies partly outside of our subject, but *Ashtoreth* and *Ashera* are so persistently classed together in Bible dictionaries and by scholars, that we cannot pass the *Ashera* over, without seeming to ignore a part of our task.

1. There is some evidence of the existence in ancient Syria of a goddess *Ashera*. In the tablets discovered at El-Amarna as published by Winckler and Abel in the publication of the "Königliche Museen zu Berlin," there is found a name *Arad-a-ši-ir-ta* or *arad-a-ši-ir-ti*, which is equal to *Ebed-ashera*. I have noticed the occurrence of this name some twenty-five times, always in the letters of a certain Rib-Adda governor, of the Syrian town of Gubla (Gabal, i. e. Byblos), to his royal master the king of Egypt. The name is clearly theophorous, but that all doubt may be removed it occurs once (Winckler, *op. cit.*, No. 73, l. 8),

written *m* Arad *ilu* A-ši-ir-ti, giving conclusive proof that the second element of the name is a goddess. These letters are Syrian and date from or before the fifteenth century B. C. Moreover in a tablet of this series acquired by the Boulaq Museum (see Sayce's transliteration, *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XI, p. 405), this man is called a Canaanite. These facts point clearly to the existence of Ashera as a goddess in Syria in very early times. So far, however, from dividing the honors of Syrian worship with Ashtoreth (see Sayce, *Contemp. Rev.*, 1883), there is but two possible traces of Ashera as a goddess in the Old Testament. These are in Jud. III. 7, where "they served the Baalim and Asheroth," and 1 Kgs. xv. 13, where the queen mother "had made an abominable image for Ashera," not for an Ashera, (Heb. אֲשֵׁרָה). This seems to indicate that here Ashera was a goddess. If so, the tone in which she is spoken of indicates that in nature she was kindred to Ashtoreth. The question also arises how to account for the almost total disappearance of the worship of this goddess in later times if it existed in Syria in pre-Israelitish days. We do not, however, know much of its existence in pre-Israelitish days, and if it did then exist extensively it is possible that in later times the more popular and perhaps somewhat kindred worship of Ashtoreth supplanted or absorbed it. Be this as it may Ashera became in the Old Testament the name in most cases of something else than a goddess.

2. This something was a sort of pole which may, perhaps, be compared in form to a may pole. This we gather from the following evidence. (1) It was made of wood, see Ex. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5; xvi. 21; 2 Kgs. xxiii. 15; Jud. vi. 26, etc. (2) It was planted (נָטַע), Deut. xvi. 21. This word נָטַע is used not only for planting a tree, but also for fixing a nail, driving a tent pin, and then for pitching a tent. That it was used in connection with the Ashera in this latter sense is shown by Mic. v. 14 (Heb. 13) where the prophet represents Yahweh as saying "I will pluck up (נִתְּשׁ) thy Asherim." (3) That these were mere poles and not goddesses or images of goddesses is shown by their plural, which occurs in the masculine form sixteen times and in the feminine only three times. (4) These wooden stumps or poles were often carved, see 2 Kgs. xxi. 7, and are often connected with idols and graven images. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 9; 2 Chron. xxiv. 18; xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 4 and 7; Isa. xvii. 8. It was probably these *Asherim* covered in an obscene fashion which Herodotus says he saw in Syria; see Her. II. 106.

3. The Ashera in this latter sense seems to have been especially connected with the worship of Baal, since in the Old Testament constantly mentions it along with that god. Cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 16; xxi. 3; Jud. vi. 25; 1 Kgs. xvi. 32, 33; xviii. 19; Jud. vi. 28; III. 7, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3. In 1 Kgs. xviii. 19, there is a passage which greatly confirms our inference of a connection between Baal

and the Ashera, though it is often wrongly quoted to show that Ashera was here a goddess. I refer to the passage which says "the prophets of Baal were four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the Ashera four hundred." A glance at the context shows that the prophets of the Ashera are here a synonym for the prophets of Baal, for in the remainder of the narrative the prophets of the Ashera are not mentioned and those of Baal only appear. Verses 22, 25, and 40 indicate that it was the prophets of Baal only whom Elijah was opposing, and that they were 450 and not 850 in number. The connection between Baal and the Ashera is also established by Punic votive inscriptions, in which Asherim are consecrated to Baal. Cf. Schröder, *Phönizische Sprache*, Tafel XV. 3 and XVI. 8.

If then the Ashera and Baal were associated, and Baal and Ashtoreth were also associated, it would follow that these wooden poles would be found about the altar of Ashtoreth also. This seems really to have been the case, and it is possible that the obscene carvings on the Ashera arose from its connection with her worship. This is by no means certain, however, as the worship of Baal, evidently equally impure, would be sufficient to account for these carvings.

Indeed it would seem from Deut. xvi. 21, that it had been the custom to plant Asherim beside the altar of any god, even beside the altars of Yahweh. We

§ 10. ASHTART OF CYPRUS.

MENTIONS OF ASHTART IN CYPRUS.

(C. I. S., No. 86)*—Trace A. 400-350 B. C.

- | | |
|--|----|
| [תכלת ירח אתנם] | 1 |
| בחדש ירח אתנם | 2 |
| II לאלן חדש קפא | 3 |
| I III | |
| לכנם אש בן אית בת עשתרת ..ת קפא | 4 |
| לפרכם ולאדמם אש על דל....x.... | 5 |
| ל....ם.... אש שכנם למלכת קרשת בים ז ק.. | 6 |
| II לנערם II קפא | 7 |
| זבחים II קר / | 8 |
| לאשם II אש אם אית חלת למלכת.... | 9 |
| את פרכם קפא I.... | 10 |
| III לנערם III קפא | 11 |
| לגלבם פעלם על מלאכת קפא II | 12 |
| לחרשם · אש פעל אשתת א.... בת מכ.... | 13 |
| לעבראשמן רב ספרם ..לח בים ז קר III ... ק | 14 |

* As. C.I.S. No. 11 adds nothing to our knowledge, I do not quote it.

may not only feel sure then that they were planted by the altars of Ashtoreth, but by the altars of all deities in Canaan.

The origin and development of this pole Ashera may be sketched in the main as follows. Prof. W. R. Smith has shown (*Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 92-105) that all Canaanite Baalim were originally associated with naturally fertile spots and were worshipped as the givers of vegetable increase. Hence the tree becomes the general emblem for deity. When altars were built where trees did not grow a pole or poles were planted to represent the trees, and gradually it came about that the poles were considered necessary whether the trees were there or not. (Cf. 1 Kgs. XVI. 23.)

While this custom spread so that the pole was planted beside any altar, even those of Yahweh at times, it would seem from the Old Testament references given above never to have lost its peculiar association with Baal. There seems to be no ground for the theory of Movers revived by Mr. Collins in *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XI. that the Ashera was connected with phallus worship.*

§ 10. ASHTART OF CYPRUS.

MENTIONS OF ASHTART IN CYPRUS.

C. I. S., No. 86, 400-350 B. C.

- 1 "The sum for the month Etanim
- 2 at the new moon of the month Etanim,
- 3 to the gods of the new moon 2
- 4
- 4 to the builders who built the house of Ashtart.....
- 5 for the curtains and the men at the door..... 20....
- 6 for who are set for sacred service† on this day....
- 7 for two slaves two....
- 8 for two slaughterers.....
- 9 for two men(?) who.....for the service....
- 10 with curtains.....
- 11 for three slaves three.....
- 12 for the barbers who work for the service 2....
- 13 for the workmen who make (stone) columns for the temple of Mik....
- 14 for Abdeshumn, chief of the scribes.....
- on this day three.

* Since the above was written, Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter's *Kypros* has appeared, in which it is clearly shown from objects found in Cyprus that Ashera was both a goddess and a pole or collection of poles as we have supposed. Cf. *op. cit.* pp. 144 ff.

† מלכת seems to be for מלאת as the Corpus suggests.

III ופר / II ולגרם קר	15*
..... אש לח בים ז ק	16
.....	17

(Tacitus, *Hist.* II., 2 and 3.)—Atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris inclytum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum, initia, religionis, templi situm, formam deae, neque enim alibi sic habetur, paucis differere. 3. Conditorem templi regem Aerian vetus memoria, quidam, ipsius deae nomen id. Fama recentior tradit, a Cinyra sacratum templum, deam ipsam, conceptam mari, huc oppulsam. Sed scientiam, artemque haruspicum accitam; et Celicem Thamiram intulisse; atque ita pactum, ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimonis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa, quam intulerant, scientia hospites cessere; tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consultitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur. Certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae offundere vetitum, precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus, quamquam in aperto, madefiunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metae modo, exurgens, et ratio in obscuro.

(Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* IV. 45), 6th Cent. A. D.

'Εν δὲ τῇ Κύπρῳ πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον συνέλθον τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ (ὃ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἱερατείας ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου παρῆλθέ ποτε). εἶτα δὲ καὶ σύας ἄγριους ἐθίων αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν κατὰ Ἀδώνιδος ἐπιβουλὴν, τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων Νανῶν ἡγουν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου.

(*Ibid.* IV. 44). οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν ποιητῶν τέσσαρας παραδίδoσιν· μίαν μὲν ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας τεχθεῖσαν· ἑτέραν δὲ ἐξ Ἀφροῦ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Ἑρως ἐτέχθη· τρίτην Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἐξ ἧς Ἄρεος τεχθῆναί φασιν Ἀντέρωτα· τετάρτην τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου, τὴν λεγομένην Ἀσάρετην.

* Supplied from l. 10 face B which is identical with this line.

- 15 for the prostitutes* and for the strangers.....
 16 who on this day. ..
 17 ”

Tacitus, Hist. II. 2, 3.—“At Cyprus curiosity led him to visit the temple of the Paphian Venus, famous among the inhabitants and among strangers. It will, perhaps, not be tedious to describe the origin of its worship, the situation of the temple, and the form of the goddess, differing as it does considerably from what is seen in any other place.

The founder of this temple according to ancient tradition, was King Aerias, a name which some hold to be that of the goddess herself. According to a more recent opinion, the temple was dedicated by Cinyras, on the spot where the goddess herself, born from the sea, was wafted ashore; the knowledge and practice of divination were imported by Thamyras, the Cilician, and it was agreed (by him and Cinyras) that the descendants of both should perform the priestly function. In course of time in order that the royal house might surpass the foreigners in authority, the race of Thamyras resigned the mysteries which they had imported, and the house of Cinyras only is consulted as the priesthood. For victims, whatever one chooses, is allowed, provided males are selected. The fibres of kids are considered the most sure (prognostics). To shed blood at the altar is forbidden. Prayers and pure fire are the only offerings, and though in the open air the altar is never wet with rain. The statue of the goddess bears no resemblance to the human form: it is round throughout, broad at the base, rising into a small circle, like a goal. The reason for this is unknown.”

Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* IV. 45.

“But in Cyprus they used to sacrifice to Aphrodite a sheep covered with a fleece. (The form of this sacrifice in Cyprus came formerly from Corinth). But they afterward used to sacrifice also wild boars to her on account of their attack on Adonis. They did it on the fourth day before the Nones, i. e. on the 2nd of April.”

Ibid., 44.

“Other poets claim that there are four (Aphrodites): one born from heaven and day; a second sprung from the sea foam, from whom and Mercury Cupid was born; a third from Zeus and Dione, from whom and Mars they say Anteros was born; a fourth from Syria and Cyprus, which is called Astarte.”

* Lit. dogs, but for this translation cf. Deut. xxiii. 18 and 19, and *supra*, § 9.

We have from Cyprus some very interesting material. Fragmentary as the inscription from Kiti is, it gives us much more definite information about the details of the Ashtart-cult than we have from any other source. It gives us a list of the provisions for the temple service of Ashtart for the month Etanim, which is defined in 1 Kings VIII. 2, as the seventh month, i. e. Oct.-Nov. Besides an apparent provision for sacrifices to the gods of the new moon, there is provision also for those who are set for sacred service, for five slaves, two slaughterers, for two men set for some unknown service, for the door-keepers, for builders, for workers in stone, for barbers, for the chief of the scribes, for strangers and for prostitutes. This last might be translated dogs, the original being כלבם, but in consideration of Deut. XXIII. 18 and 19, and of the fact that all the other provision is made for persons, not for animals, the rendering given seems more probable.* Whichever of the two renderings we adopt the fact remains that here we have evidence that the dog was sacred to Ashtart, for men would never have called themselves "the dogs" had they not considered the name in consequence of its sacredness a title of honor. The same seems to have been true in Palestine, as the Deuteronomy passage referred to above seems to indicate. This inscription, then, gives us a glimpse into the life of an old Cyprian temple, with its priests, door-keepers, barbers, scribes, builders and attendants, and enables us to picture somewhat vividly in imagination the temple's interior life. Perhaps the strangest thing connected with it all is the provision in the list for male prostitutes. These seem to indicate a change in the conceptions of the service of the old mother goddess with whom we have become acquainted in preceding sections, towards a masculine deity such as we shall find in South Arabia. We must not, however, press this point as it is quite possible that these male creatures were but companions of similar female creatures, the record of whom our fragmentary inscription has not preserved, and that the masculine characters crept in from the influence of Baal worship.

The provision made for the gods of the new moon would suggest that at Cyprus Ashtart was associated with that luminary.

The passage quoted from Tacitus gives us evidence of the antiquity of the worship of Ashtart at Paphos, in that the image of the goddess which seemed to him so curious is undoubtedly nothing but a *masṣēba*, such as it is said Jacob erected at Bethel. This as we know is one of the primitive forms of representing

§ 11. ASHTART OF MALTA.

C. I. S., No. 182.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
|פעל וחדש עם גול אית שלש | 1 |
| מקדש בת צדמבעל ואית מ[קדש] | 2 |
| מקדש בת עשחרת ואית מקד[ש] | 3 |

* See *supra*, § 9, for Clement of Alexandria's rendering.

the deity and was very common in Semitic lands. (See W. R. Smith's *Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 186-188). It is certainly interesting to find it in Cyprus.

According to Tacitus no blood was shed at the altar of Ashtart in Paphos. If this could be said of the altar at Kiti also, it would follow that the slaughterers mentioned in the list of temple servants did not prepare sacrifices for the altar, but meat for the table. However that may be the victims at Paphos seem to have been used for purposes of divination and not for sacrifice. The use of kids especially in this divination may perhaps be taken to indicate a sacredness of the kid to Ashtart, though it may have been due to quite different causes. The restriction of victims to the male sex is quite parallel to the Old Testament ritual.

From Johannes Lydus we learn that they sacrificed both a sheep and swine to Ashtart in Cyprus; where, he does not say, but this would indicate that what Tacitus says about not shedding blood on the altar at Paphos is not applicable to the whole island. As he tells us that they sacrificed wild boars on the second of April, it is probable from the order of his statements that the sacrifice of the sheep occurred on the first of that month. Here we have a definite ritual with feast days succeeding each other and special sacrifices for each day. The selection of the sheep and boar as sacrificial animals, would indicate that these animals were regarded as sacred to Ashtart. The statement of Lydus that this sacrifice came from Corinth is valuable only as showing the existence of a similar worship there. It does not account for the origin of the worship in Cyprus more satisfactorily than he accounts for the etymology of the name Astarte when he gravely derives it from *ἀστέρη*. In point of fact both the Corinth and the Cyprus worship were derived from Phœnicia.*

§ 11. ASHTART OF MALTA.

- 1 "The people of Gul made and renewed three (sanctuaries).
- 2 the sanctuary of the house of Sadam-baal, and the sanctuary.....
- 3 the sanctuary of the house of Ashtart, and the sanctuary....."

This inscription is the only evidence I have found bearing on the worship of Ashtart in Malta. It alone is, however, sufficient to assure us of the existence of a Phœnician colony there, who carried with them the worship of the great Semitic goddess. Though there is nothing here to add to our information concerning the nature of this goddess, to find that she had a temple in Malta is certainly a tribute to her popularity with the Semites wherever their dwelling might be.

* Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in his *Kypros*, pp. 118-126, has shown from the art remains of Cyprus and the survival of ancient customs there, that Tammuz worship accompanied the worship of Ashtart in this island. On general principles this might *a priori* have been regarded as certain. Evidences of this worship have not, so far as I know, been found in the extant literary remains of antiquity.

§ 12. ASHTART OF ERYX.

C. I. S. No. 135.

לרבת לעשתרת ארך היס..... 1

C. I. S., No. 140.

לעשתרת ארך מזבח נח[ו]שת ז אש נדרו 1

Aelian. *De Natura Animalium*, IV., 2. 3d Cent. A. D.

Ἐν Ἐρυκί τῆς Συκελίας ἑορτή ἐστίν, ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἀναγώνια Ἐρυκῖνοι τε αὐτοὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Συκελίᾳ πάσῃ· ἣ δὲ αἰτία τοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὀνόματος· τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσιν ἐντένθεν εἰς Λιβύην ἀπαίρειν ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς ἡμέραις. δδξάζουσι δὲ ἅρα ταῦτα τάντῃ ἐκεῖθεν τεκμαιρόμενοι· περιστερῶν πληθὺς ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα πάμπλειστον· ὁπκοῦν αἱ μὲν ὄνυχ ὀρῶνται, λέγουσι δὲ Ἐρυκῖνοι τὴν θεὸν πορφύρουσας ἀπελθεῖν· αὐτῆρα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης περιστερὰς εἶναι φθονοῖ τε καὶ πεπιστεύκασιν πάντες ἄνθρωποι· διελθουσὺν δὲ ἡμερῶν ἐννέα, μὴν μὲν διαπρεπὴ τὴν ὥραν ἐκ γε τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ κομίζοντος ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ὁρᾶσθαι εἰσπετομένην, ὄνυχ διὰν κατὰ τὰς ἀγελείας πελειάδας τὰς λοίπας εἶναι, πορφυρᾶν δὲ, ὥσπερ ὄνυχ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Τῆριος ἡμῖν Ἀνακρέων φθεῖ, πορφυρέην πον λεγών· καὶ χρυσῶ δὲ εἰκασμένη φανείη αὐ, καὶ τοῦτο γε κατὰ τὴν Ὀμήρου θεὸν τὴν αὐτὴν, ἥ ἐκεῖνος ἀναμέλπει χρυσῆν· ἔπειτα δὲ αὕτη τῶν περιστερῶν τὰ νέφη τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ ἑορτὴ πάλιν Ἐρυκῖνους τὰ Καταγώνια, ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα.

These Phœnician inscriptions testify to the existence of a Semitic Ashtart cult at Eryx. From classical writers we have long been familiar with the existence of a Venus cult at that place, but we have here evidence that if it was not originally of Phœnician origin, as seems quite probable, it certainly contained a Phœnician element.

Beyond the fact that an altar of bronze was dedicated to Ashtart at Eryx, and the fact that she had a temple there, to which some fragmentary lines not quoted here give testimony, we gain no knowledge of the cult from Phœnician sources. Aelian, however, in the passage quoted above gives three important

TANITH OF CARTHAGE.

C. I. S., No. 263.

לרבת לתנת פן בעל ול- 1

ארן לבעל חמן אש [נדרו] 2

אמעשתרת אש בעמת 3

אש עשתרת 4

Cf. also C. I. S., Nos. 202, 205, 210, etc., etc.

§ 8. ASHTART OF ERYX.

"To the lady, Ashtart of Eryx".....

"To Ashtart of Eryx, this altar of bronze which.....vowed."

"In Eryx in Sicily there is a feast which the Erycinians themselves and all who live in Sicily call Anagogia. The cause of the name of this feast is, they say, that at that time Aphrodite departs into Libya. They truly think this, inferring it from the fact that there is usually a very great multitude of doves there, but then they are not seen. The Erycinians say that as attendants of the goddess, they have gone away, for all men have believed and declared that doves are the delight of Aphrodite. But when nine days have passed, they see one preëminent in form flying from the sea which comes from Libya, and it is not such as other gregarious pigeons, but purple, just as Tefian Anacreon sings to us that Aphrodite is, for somewhere he calls her purple; but she would also seem to be like gold, and this, according to Homer, is the goddess herself, whom he sings of as golden. But the clouds of other doves follow her, and the Erycinians have a feast again, which is called Katagogia from this fact."

facts. 1. That there were two feasts to Ashtart at Eryx. 2. That these were nine days apart, and 3. That they were connected with the flight of doves which were very numerous there, and were sacred to this goddess. This last fact, especially, is of interest to us, and we shall return to it in our concluding section.

It would be interesting, if time allowed, to trace this Eryx cult to Rome where it was introduced about the close of the second Punic war (cf. Smith's Classical Dict. under Eryx), as it would have been interesting to trace out the Phœnician influence at Corinth, mentioned at the close of section 10. It was originally intended to include in this study the influence of the Ishtar-cult on Greece and Rome, but the work has already so far outgrown its original plan, that we must content ourselves with an attempt to trace it among Semitic peoples.*

TANITH OF CARTHAGE.

"To the lady Tanith, the face of Baal and to ²the lord Baal-khammon, which ³Amashtart vowed who is among the people who are ⁴men of Ashtart."

* Dr. Richter in his *Kypros*, p. 274, tells us that while doves were offered in sacrifice to other deities, they were kept in cootes within the sacred precincts of Ashtarte alone.

C. I. S., No. 195.

לאם לר- 1
בת לחנת פן בעל ולאין 2
לבעל חמן ישמע קלא 3
י'כרכא 4

Cf. also C. I. S., No. 380.

St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, II. 4.

"Veniebamus etiam nos aliquando adolescentes ad spectacula ludibriaque sacri-
legiorum; spectabamus arreptitios, audiebamus symphonicos; ludis
turpissimis, quid diis deabusque exhibebantur, oblectabamur, Coelesti
virgine, et Berecynthiae matri omnium: ante cujus lecticam die solemn
lavationis ejus, talia per publicum cantitabantur a nequissimis scenicis,
qualia, non dico matrem deorum, sed matrem qualicumque senatorum
vel quorumlibet honestorum virorum, imo vero qualia nec matrem
ipsorum scenicorum deceret audire. Habet enim quiddam erga parentes
humana verecundia, quod nec ipsa nequitia possit auferre. Illam proinde
turpitudinem obscenorum dictorum atque factorum, scenicos ipsos domi
suae proludendi causa coram matribus suis agere puderet, quam per
publicam agebant, coram deum matre, spectante et audiente utriusque
sexus frequentissima multitudo. Quae si illecta curiositate adesse
potuit circumfusa, saltem offensa castitate debuit abire confusa.

Before considering the character of Tanith and her worship, a word is neces-
sary in justification of her introduction here at all. In the first place then let us
notice, she is called the **פן בעל*** (face of Baal) as Ashtart at Sidon was called
שם בעל. This appellation occurs scores of times in the inscriptions from North
Africa, though reference has been made to but few of them here. As Tanith held
at Carthage a relation to Baal parallel to that held by Ashtart at Sidon, and by
Istar to the chief deities of Babylon and Nineveh we find one ground for
assuming that we have in her a similar divinity though under a different name.

Again in the first of the inscriptions quoted at the head of this section, diffi-
cult as the word **אש** in l. 4, is (I have in translating assumed it to be equivalent
to the Hebrew **אש**) and whatever it may mean, it seems to indicate that Am-
ashtart, the giver of this cippus, was connected in some way with the worship of
Ashtart. To find such a woman making an offering to Tanith is another ground,
though a slight one, for identifying Tanith and Ashtart. And lastly the charac-
teristics of Tanith upon which we are about to dwell, will be found in almost
every particular to correspond with the characteristics already found to belong to
Ashtart.

From the second inscription quoted above we learn that Tanith was a mother
goddess, and our quotation from Augustine bears witness to the same fact.† To

* Cf. the **פנ'אל** of Gen. xxxii. 31. and the note on **שם בעל** above.

† G. Hoffmann ingeniously considers Tanith's priestly cabalistic name formed from Ashtart.
Cf. *Delmar's Kibutz Phoen. m.*, p. 32.

".....To mother, the lady ²Tanith, the face of Baal, and to the Lord ³Baal-khammon. May he hear her voice (and) ⁴bless her."

C. I. S., Nos. 398 and 419 describe cippi on which are pictures of rams with inscriptions devoting them to Tanith.

"We ourselves went once in our youth to view these spectacles, and their sacrilegious sports. We saw those rapt with fury, we heard the pipers and were greatly pleased with the filthy sports, which they acted before gods and goddesses, before the Celestial virgin and Berecynthia, the mother of all: before whose litter on the feast day of her purification, such things were publicly acted by the wretched actors, as, I will not say the mother of the gods, but the mother of no senator or honest man, nay nor the mother of the actors themselves ought to hear. Natural modesty controls us somewhat towards our parents, nor is vice itself able to abolish this. Nevertheless such foulness of obscene speeches and actions, as the players would be ashamed when rehearsing to act at home before their own mothers, they acted publicly in the presence of the mother of the gods, in sight and hearing of a very great multitude of both sexes, which company, though possibly attracted thither by curiosity, ought at least when chastity was so shamelessly outraged, to have departed in confusion."

this mother goddess the two cippi described above give us reason to believe that the sheep was a sacred animal. Augustine, moreover, gives us a glimpse of her feasts, at which he tells us that obscene songs were sung, and obscene actions performed such as would disgrace any people considered honorable by the Roman standards of his time. His vivid language, however, has already sufficiently pictured this. Another point must also be noticed. This mother goddess to whom such obscene songs were sung seems to be coupled by Augustine with the heavenly virgin (*virgo coelestis*). An identification of the two is indicated by C. I. S., No. 116, where עֲבֶרְתָּהּ is made equal to Ἀρτεμιδος. It would seem then that we have two Taniths corresponding in general to Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela, or to Aphrodite and Artemis, and that these two were not sharply distinguished. Geo. Hoffmann and Prof. W. R. Smith identify Tanith with Dido.* This identification seems extremely probable. If it be accepted, as I believe it should be, the legend of the death of Dido as related by Timaeus and Justin† gives us further valuable information about Tanith. This goddess in her

* Hoffman, *op cit.*, p. 32 and Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, pp. 50, 354 and 391.

† Cf. Smith's *Rel. of Sem.* as *supra*.

22573

occurred against the gross practices connected with the worship of the old polyandrous mother goddess, and embodied itself in these conceptions. It is highly probable, too, that the cult of the Phrygian Cybele which was widely known throughout the Roman empire influenced the worship of this North Africa celestial virgin, at least in its later forms.*

It is probably Tanith in her virgin capacity to whom Tertullian refers under the name of Demeter or Ceres, when he tells us that it was a common thing in his day for wives to abandon their husbands, even putting other women in their places and thereafter refusing the embrace of any male even to the farewell kiss of a brother, in order to become priestesses of this North African Ceres. Cf. Tert. *Ad Uxorem* I. 6 and *De Exhort. Cast.* 13.

We conclude, therefore, that in the Tanith-Dido of North Africa we have a goddess really identical with Ashtart, and that through certain influences she has developed here in one of her phases a virgin character.

§ 14. ATHTAR OF SABAEA.

Denkmäler, 1883, and Derenbourg's *Les Monuments Sabéens et Himyarites du Louvre*, 1886, are indispensable adjuncts for the study of the Sabaeen inscriptions.† One has but to collect the material contained in these volumes on any special topic, however, in order to be made keenly conscious of how fragmentary our information is. We can but look forward with interest to the time when Dr. Glaser shall make public the inscriptions he is said to have recovered and concerning the import of which so much is claimed, in the hope that they will fill some of the lacunae in our present knowledge.

The inscriptions known to me come from a small area in and around the city of Ṣan'a, and their chronological order is still a matter about which almost nothing is known, hence no attempt is made to classify the material either geographically or chronologically. In dealing with the inscriptions, too, I have only selected such mentions of Athtar as give some definite information.

TRANSLATION.

1“[and 'A]mkerib and their sons Abukarib, and Ilkarib ²made and dug (?) the place of their tomb, the abode of rest by the kindness [of Athtar lord] ³of Kabid and by the kindness of their chief Agur Yag- (?) -ar.....⁴...and they committed their burial place to Athtar, the rising from whoever offers violence.”

For another similar inscription see *C. I. S.*, p. IV, No. 21.

* It is of course possible that this so-called celestial virgin was really a goddess of impure unmarried love. This may seem to some the more probable view.

† A sketch of the Grammar of some use to English students is given by Prideaux in *TSBA*, Vol. V. Since this MS. was written, *Fasciculus Secundus* of the fourth part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Mordtmann's publication in the *Mittheilungen aus dem Orientalischen Sammlungen* of the Berlin Museum, and Hommel's *Stid-Arabische Chrestomathie* have been published, but all too late for use in writing this article.

TRANSLITERATION.

- 1 אבכרב | יהטבן | בן | מדרה...ותפ...ומ...כם | ארשו | עלם | אקול
שעבן | מהאנפם | ברא
2 ותובן | ביתיהמו | מהורן | ויסר | ומשורהמו | חרור | ברדא | עתתר |
שרקן | ואלהמו | עתתר | ר
3 גפתם | בעל | עלם |

TRANSLATION.

- 1 "Abukarib Yuhatib from Mudhrab and Thif[yan] and Mi[lya]k priests of Alm, chiefs of the tribe Mubhanif constructed [and founded] ²and enclosed their two houses, Mahwar and Yasar and their temple Kharwar, by the aid of Athtar the rising (or of the rising sun) and their god Athtar, possessor ³of Gaufat, lord of Alm."

TRANSLITERATION.

- 1ברסו | ור'יון^{??}
2רב | מנצחהמו | עתתור^{??}
3ברדא | ומקם | אלהמ

TRANSLATION.

- 1created* (?) and founded (?).....
2lord of their water supply Athtar.....
3by the aid and power of their god.....

TRANSLITERATION.

- 1 החיעתות
2 מעדכרוב
3 הען | ר
4 רוב | בנו | תור |
5 דרבן | בעל | ב
6 צלמן | רדהב
7 הופי | עתתר | עבורה
8 חבניהו | יהען
9 נ | רשותם | ר
10 מוראדו | עתתר
11 .. | כל | אבית

TRANSLATION.

- 14 Hakhayyathat,.....²Ma'dikarib..... and ³Haan.....⁴....sons of Taur
....(have dedicated to Athtar of) ⁵Diban, lord of....⁶an image of gold
....⁷because Athtar (saved his) servant....⁸and his sons Yehan⁹
.....¹⁰their lord Athtar¹¹all houses....."

* The Corpus corrects in translating ברכסו into בראו. This seems to be probable as ב and א are in Sabaean so nearly alike.

† I cannot explain line 9.

For an altar with the picture of a gazelle's head on one side of it and an inscription dedicating it to Athtar on the other, see Mordtmann and Müller's *Sabäische Denkmäler*, No. 16.

For other mentions of Athtar, cf. *C. I. S., P.*, IV., Nos. 5, 29, 40, 42, and 46, Halévy's *Études Sabéennes*, pp. 110, 148, 150, 156, 159, 173, 187, 206, and 234; Mord. and Müll., *Sab. Denk.*, pp. 5, 10, 11, 65, 66, and 100 and Derenbourg's *Nouvelles Études*, No. 7, 9, and 14.

For an inscription apparently dedicated to Athtar, containing a picture of an ox-head, see *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXX, p. 289.

Perhaps the first thing which strikes one as he comes to the study of the Sabaeen Athtar, after having traced the use of this divine name in other lands, is that Athtar is of the masculine gender. He is described as בעל עלם, again and again, and of the gender there can be no doubt. Strange as the fact is we must not dwell upon it here, but reserve it as a factor in a future problem. It is interesting, however, to note in this connection that Shamash was among the Sabaeans a feminine deity; see Mord. and Müll., *Sab. Denk.*, No. 13, where we find לאלהת שמסם בעלת.

From the first of our quotations made above we learn that Athtar was regarded as the special protector of tombs, i. e. the god who warded off violence from them by repelling him who offered it. As we noticed then this is confirmed by the inscription *C. I. S.*, No. 21. This fact recalls to our minds the language of Tabnith king of Sidon, that to violate his tomb was an abomination to Ashtart (*Supra*, § 8). By comparing the Sabaeen inscriptions, moreover, we find that the tomb was the especial care of Athtar שרן, a word which I have rendered with Mordtmann and Müller, "the Rising," but which the two Derenbourgs render "the Eastern." This is a word the meaning of which it is important to determine, for if it means simply "the Eastern," it may indicate no more than that the knowledge of this god reached south-western Arabia from the east, i. e. from Babylonia. This, however, seems to me an untenable theory. The characteristics of Athtar in Sabaea are, so far as we know them, so distinct in every particular from those of the Babylonian Ishtar as to indicate a long development of the deity on Sabaeen soil in such utter unconsciousness of any Babylonian influence that it seems entirely incredible that this epithet can betray any consciousness of Babylonian origin. To assume that a simple people could, for so many generations as would be necessary to change a feminine to a masculine deity, worship Athtar, and still call him the Eastern god in token conscious or unconscious of Babylonian origin would certainly be contrary to our expectations. The root שר, moreover, applied in Arabic to the sunrise, meaning sometimes "the rising sun," and then comes to mean east as the word *orient* does. It would seem more probable therefore that Athtar was in a measure identified with the rising sun, becoming perhaps not absolutely a sun god, for, as already noted, they

regarded Shamash as a deity (cf. M. and M., *Sab. Denk.*, pp. 20, 56 f., and Halévy, *Études Sab.*, p. 159 l. 13), but the god of the rising sun. The epithet שָׁרֶקֶן, then, would represent this identification. We shall have occasion to revert to this idea again where I think this conjecture will receive some confirmation.*

Our second inscription quoted above, distinguishes, however, between this Athtar שָׁרֶקֶן, and Athtar possessor of Gaufat, lord of Alm. It will be remembered that in that inscription they are introduced successively as separate deities. What the nature of the distinction thus drawn was, or upon what it was based there is no means of knowing at present. Some new inscription must rise from the dust before this point can be cleared up. A similar distinction is made in an inscription transliterated by Halévy in his *Études Sabéennes*, p. 206, between Athtar and עֶתְרֵר שִׁימִם. The closing line of the inscription reads: "By the grace of Athtar and of Elmaḳḳahu and Dhat-Kḥamy^m and of Athtar Shayyam^m." This שִׁימִם according to Mordt. and Müll., *Sab. Denk.*, p. 31, signifies "the Patron" or "Protector," so that here Athtar is one deity and "Athtar the protector" is another. What the nature of the distinction here drawn may be is as in the last case quite obscure. We seem then to have three Athtars clearly distinguished.

Our third quotation made at the beginning of this chapter makes Athtar the "lord of their water supply." That this cannot apply to "Athtar the rising" or to "Athtar the possessor of Gaufat and lord of Alm," is clear from *O. I. S.*, No. 41, where in addition to these two, "the god Baskir the lord of their water supply," is mentioned. Whether Athtar as lord of the water supply, and Athtar the protector are the same we have no means of knowing. One might rather conjecture that "Athtar the rising," to whom tombs were entrusted, would be called "the protector," but of this too we have no clear proof. Fragmentary as the inscriptions are, however, we have three if not four Athtars distinguished, one of whom was lord of the water supply. This last is a significant fact, and must enter as a factor into the problems which lie before us. It is probable that these different Athtars were worshipped originally in different localities and that they reflect different growths of local conception.

Our fourth quotation made above gives clear proof that the gazelle or antelope was sacred to Athtar. To this fact Mordt. and Müll. call attention (*Sab. Denk.*, p. 66), and it has been generally recognized since the publication of their work by such writers as Wellhausen and W. R. Smith. We simply note it here, but shall return to it again later on.

* I do not feel certain that the epithet שָׁרֶקֶן identifies Athtar with the rising sun, as I am unable to find any parallel to it in other Semitic lands. The only parallel to which I can point is in Egypt, where one god was identified with the rising sun and another with the noonday sun. I have let the suggestions made in the text stand as tentative and await further light.

From an inscription published by Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, XXX. p. 289, which has an ox-head pictured on one corner similar to the gazelle head of the inscription just noticed, and which though too broken for connected reading, seems to

§ 15. AL LAT AND AL UZZA OF ARABIA.

It now becomes necessary for reasons which will appear as we advance, to glance at the character of the two North Arabian goddesses whose names stand at the head of this paragraph. The facts concerning them are scattered through a great variety of ancient writers. So far as these writers are accessible to me the material is as follows:

(*Herodotus*, III. 8.) Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μόνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγόνται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κορυὴν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατὰ περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιρρόχαλα ὑποφυρῶντες τῶς κροτάφους. ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ,

PORPHYRY.

De Abstinētia, II. 56.

Καὶ Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔθνον παῖδα, ὃν ὑπο βωμῶν ἐθαπτον. ὃ χρώνται ὡς ξοάνῃ.

EPHRAEM SYRUS.

Vol. II., p. 457 E.

לְמַעַן לִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ.

Ibid., p. 458, l. 1.

וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ.

Ibid., II. 459 C.

וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ. וְלִבְלִי אֶל־עַלְמֵי חַיִּים לְבַלְלֵם בְּאֵשׁ כֶּסֶף וְכֶסֶף בְּאֵשׁ.

be dedicated to Athtar, we learn that in all probability the ox as well as the gazelle was sacred to that god.

It is impossible in the present state of our information to make anything like a complete sketch of Athtar or enter into a historical outline of his worship, but these few points seem tolerably clear.

§ 15. AL LAT AND AL UZZA OF ARABIA.

Herodotus, III. 8.

"They believe only Dionysos and Urania to be gods, and they say that their hair is cut in the same way as Dionysos' is cut; but they cut it in circular form, shearing it around the temples. They call Dionysos Oro-tal, but Urania Alilat."

PORPHYRY.

De Abstinencia, II. 56.

"And the Doumatenoi of Arabia, also each year sacrifice a boy, whom they bury under the altar, which is of carved stone.*

EPHRAEM SYRUS.

Vol. II., p. 457 E.

"A pure man or woman conquers in the contest her who is impure, whom they reckon with the seven stars. It is the star goddess who gives safety to her worshippers, the Ishmaelites, and into our lands is she come whom the sons of Hagar adore."

Ibid., p. 458 l. 1.

"The waning moon with Venus they set in the street as an adulteress. They name a pair of women among the planets, but they are not names. The names which are not separate are names of women full of lust. But as to those whose women belonged to all, how could there be among them any chastity? And how could there be among them any rectitude, who did not even regulate marriage as the birds do?"

Ibid., p. 459 C.

"The dwellings of the Hebrews and the tents of the house of Hagar declare that will is ordinance and law. Where are the wild feasts and the tinkling bells and the dice playing and the public bidding of the Chaldeans? Who did away with the feast of the raging idol, on whose festal day women prostituted themselves? Did then some star rise on those virgins that forthwith they vowed their virginity to prostitution?"

* It will be seen from the quotation from Porphyry made at the close of § 8 that he is here speaking of a goddess whom he calls Athena.

EPIPHANIUS.

Panarion, LI.

Τούτο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει (μητρόπολις δέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀραβίας ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἑδὸμ ἢ ἐν ταῖς Γραφαῖς γεγραμμένη) ἐν τῷ ἐκείσε ἰδιωλῷ οὕτως γίνεται καὶ Ἀραβικῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐξημνῶσι τὴν παρθένον καλῶντες αὐτὴν Ἀραβιστὶ χαβοῦ, τοῦτέστιν κόρην ἤγονα παρθένου, καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Δουσάρην τοῦτέστιν μονογενῆ τοῦ δεσπότου. Τούτο δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἑλλοσῇ γίνεται τῇ πόλει κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

JEROME.

Vita Hilarionis, C. 25.

Quantum autem fuerit in eo studii, ut nullum fratrem quamvis humilem, quamvis pauperem praeteriret, vel illud iudicio est, quod vadens in desertum Cades ad unum de discipulis suis visendum, cum infinito agmine monachorum pervenit Elusam, eo forte die, quod anniversaria solemnitas omnem oppidi populum in templum Veneris congregaverat. Colunt autem illam ob Luciferum, ejus cultui Saracenorum natio dedita est.

ISAAC OF ANTIOCH.

Bickell's edition, p. 244, l. 449 sq.

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ
 مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ أَبِي بَكْرٍ عَنْ

QURAN.

LIII. 19 sq.

۱۹ أَفَرَأَيْتُمُ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّىٰ . ۲۰ وَمَنَاةَ الثَّالِثَةَ الْأُخْرَىٰ ۚ أَلَكُمُ الدَّكُّرُ وَلَهُ
 الْأُنثَىٰ

Ibn Hisham, Vol. I., p. 98.

فخرج عبد المطلب حين قيل له ذلك الى قويس فقال اعلموا اني قد
 اُمرْتُ ان احفر زمزم

Ibid., p. 94.

فقال عبد المطلب لابنه الحارث دُدْ عَتِي حَتَّى احفر فوالله لأَمُضِيَنَّ
 لها أَصْرْتُ بِهِ فَلَمَّا عَرَفُوا أَنَّهُ غَيْرُ نَازِعٍ خَلَوْا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ الْحَفْرِ

EPIPHANIUS.

Panarion, LI.

"This also in the city Petra (which is the metropolis of Arabia, which is the Edom mentioned in the Scriptures) happens thus in that temple and they sing hymns in the Arabic tongue to the virgin, calling her in Arabic *Kaaba*, that is they think the woman a virgin and that from her Dusares was born, that is to say, the only begotten of the Lord. This also happens in the city Elausa upon that night that it does in Petra and in Alexandria."

JEROME.

Vita Hilarionis, C. 25.

"How great was his zeal so that he would pass by no brother, however humble or however poor, let this be an example. Going into the desert Cades to visit one of his disciples, he came with a countless number of monks to Elusa. It happened to be the day on which the annual feast had collected all the people of the town in the temple of Venus. They worship her instead of Lucifer, to whose worship the nation of the Saracens is devoted."

ISAAC OF ANTIOCH.

Bickell's edition, p. 244, l. 449 sq.

"To her, the star goddess, the tribe of the sons of Hagar offer sacrifice, and their women, like all women, are some of them beautiful and some ugly. After the Arabian women perceive concerning the sun what is right, they renounce for it that star goddess which they worshipped in a vain hope."

QURAN.

LIII. 19 sq.

"What then do you think of Al-Lat and Al-Uzza and Manāt, that other third goddess? Do you have male children, and God female?"

Ibn Hisham, Vol. I., p. 98.

"Then Abd-ul-Muttalib went out at the time this was told him about the Koraish and said, know ye that I have commanded to clear out the Zemzem."

Ibid., p. 94.

"And Abd-ul-Muttalib said to his son Al-Hārath, withdraw from me until I search and by God, I will dig deeper according as I commanded. And when they knew that he would not desist they made clear the space between him and the hole, and they joined with him. And he had dug only a little way when the interior appeared to him. Then he magnified

وَكُفُّوا عَنْهُ فَلَمْ يَجْفُرْ إِلَّا يَسْنِيْرًا حَتَّى بَدَأَ لَهُ الطَّيُّ فَكَبَّرَ وَعَرَفَ
أَنَّهُ قَدْ صَدَقَ فَلَمَّا يَمَادِي بِهِ الْحَفَرُ وَجَدَ فِيهَا غُرَالَيْنِ مِنْ
ذَهَبٍ

Ibid.

فَضْرَبَ عَبْدُ الْمَطْلَبِ الْأَسْيَافَ بَابًا لِلْكَعْبَةِ وَضَرَبَ فِي الْبَابِ الْغُرَالَيْنِ
مِنْ ذَهَبٍ

Ibn Kutaiiba, p. 60.

وَهُوَ سَارِقُ غُرَالِ الْكَعْبَةِ

Yakut, I., 837, 11.

تَرَعُ عَوْزُ الْعَيْنَانِ مَهْمَلَتَانِ وَالْوَاوُ سَاكِنَةٌ وَرَأَى قَرْيَةً مَشْهُوَةً بِحَرَانٍ

Ibid., III., 664, 1.

أَفْرَيْتُمْ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّى اللَّاتُ صَنَمٌ كَانَ لثَقِيفٍ وَالْعُزَّى سَرَّةٌ كَانَتْ
لِغُطْفَانَ يَعْبُدُونَهَا وَكَانُوا بَنَوْا عَلَيْهَا بَيْتًا وَأَقَامُوا لَهَا سَدَنَةً

Ibid., I., 6.

قَالَ أَبُو الْمُنْذِرِ بَعْدَ ذِكْرِ مَنَاةَ وَاللَّاتِ ثُمَّ اتَّخَذُوا الْعُزَّى وَهِيَ أَحَدُ
مِنْ اللَّاتِ وَمَنَاةَ وَذَلِكَ أَتَى سَمِعْتُ الْعَرَبَ سَمَتْ بِهَا عَبْدُ الْعُزَّى

Ibid., I., 16.

وَكَانَتْ الْعَرَبُ وَقَرِيشٌ تَسْمِي بِهَا عَبْدُ الْعُزَّى وَكَانَ اعْظَمُ الْأَصْنَامِ عِنْدَ
قَرِيشٍ وَكَانُوا يَزُورُونَهَا وَيَهْدُونَ لَهَا وَيَتَقَرَّبُونَ عِنْدَهَا بِالذَّبَائِحِ

Ibid., p. 667, I. 2.

فَأَمَّا الْعُزَّى فَكَانَتْ قَرِيشٌ تَخْصُهَا دُونَ غَيْرِهَا بِالْهَدِيَّةِ وَالزِّيَارَةِ

Ibid., 773, 2.

قَالَ أَبُو الْعَنْدَرِ وَكَانَ لِلْعُزَّى مَكْحَرٌ يَخْرُونَ فِيهِ هَدَايَاكُمْ يُقَالُ لَهُ الْغُبْغُبُ

God and declared that he had told the truth. And when the hole had been enlarged by him he found in it two gazelles of gold."

Ibid.

"And Abd-ul-Muttalib accompanied the people to the gate of the Ka'aba and put in the gate the gazelles of gold."

Ibn Kutaiba, p. 60.

"And he (Abu Sahib) is the one who stole the gazelles of the Ka'aba."

Yakut, I., 837.

"Tar'uz, the flowing fountains (the waw quiesces and is silent), is a well known town in Harran."

Ibid., III., 664, 1.

"You can distinguish between Al-Lat and Al-Uzza. Al-Lat, an idol, belonged to Thakif, and Al-Uzza, a thorn tree, belonged to the Ghatafan, who worshipped her and had built for her a temple and appointed for her guards."

Ibid., I. 6.

"Abu-ul-Manzir* says, after mentioning Manāt and Al-Lat, 'Then they choose Al-Uzza, and she is younger than Al-Lat and Manāt, and I have also found Arabs named for her Abd-al-Uzza.'"

Ibid., I. 16.

"And the Arabs and the Koraish named themselves for her Abd-al-Uzza. And the greatest of her idols was among the Koraish, and they used to worship her and were guided by her and approached her with sacrifices."

Ibid., p. 667, I. 2.

"And as to Al-Uzza, the Koraish were especially worshipping her without the others, with sacrifices and pilgrimages."

Ibid., 773. 2.

"Abu-ul-Manzir says Al-Uzza had a slaughtering place where they kill her offerings. It was called the Ghabghab."

From such passages in the Quran as that quoted above we learn that the Arabs had in Mohammed's time three goddesses whom they regarded as daughters of Allah. Of these, according to Ibn al Kalbi, quoted by Yakut, Manat was the oldest. She seems to have been a goddess of fortune like the old Hebrew gods Gad and Meni and the Greek Τύχη.† Of her and her character, therefore, we need not speak further here.

Al-Lat was younger than Manat. She was especially worshipped at Tâif, where her image was a four square white rock, still pointed out in Mohammedan

* The same as Ibn-al-Kalbi. See Wellhausen's *Reste Arabische Heldenthums*, p. 9.

† Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

times under the mosque,* and was held in high honor by all the Koraish and the Arabs. She was also worshipped, as one of DeVogüé's Nabathæan inscriptions testifies, among the Nabathæans, by whom she was regarded as the mother of the gods.† Her worship seems to have been widely extended, for Herodotus, as we have seen, speaks of her as a goddess of the Arabs under the name 'Αλιδάρ, and her name is also found on inscriptions at Higr, Salkad and Palmyra.‡ From Epiphanius we have seen that an annual feast at Petra, the old Nabathæan capital, was celebrated to the virgin or unmarried mother of the Nabathæan male god Dusares or Dhu-'l-Sharā, which must have been a feast to Al-Lat.§ This would indicate that she was at that time a polyandrous goddess or a goddess of unmarried love. Her images wherever found or mentioned seem to have been mere stones or *massēbas*. She seems to have a solar character, and among the Nabathæans was coördinated with the sun.|| The earliest mention we have of her is that in Herodotus, in the fifth century B. C.

Al-Uzza, according to Ibn al Kalbi in Yaḳut, quoted above, was the youngest of the three daughters of Allah. Her worship seems to have its main seats at Nakhla and Mecca, although other considerations indicate that it was very wide-spread. We have looked at the testimony of Ibn al Kalbi to the effect that she was the goddess most highly honored by the Koraish. They celebrated an annual feast to her.¶ It appears from our Jerome passage that the Arabs worshipped their supreme goddess under the form of the planet Venus. This is confirmed by the Syrian Fathers Ephraem and Isaac of Antioch. Ephraem tells us moreover, of rites connected with her worship which he calls Chaldean, and which resemble the rites of Ishtar at Babylon and Ashtart at Byblos. He represents the goddess herself as an adulteress, her devotees as not regulating marriage even as the birds do and her festivals as times when virgins prostituted themselves. There can, therefore be little doubt that the goddess here described was a polyandrous patroness of unmarried love. As the Westerns persistently believed that the worship at Mecca was Aphrodite worship, all these characteristics and this identification with the planet Venus are thought to belong to Al-Uzza, who was especially worshipped there.** It is interesting in this connection to recall the account given by Theodolus, the son of Nilus, that the Arabs of the Siniatic peninsula "knew no god either of spirit or made with hands, but worshipped the morning star."†† When we recall also the dove idol in the *Ka'aba* and the sacred doves around it, and remember what Ibn Hisham and Ibn Kutaiba have told about the finding of the golden gazelles in the sacred Zemzem and their preservation in the *Ka'aba*, it is very difficult to escape the conclusion that Al-Uzza, the pre-Islamic goddess at Mecca had the same characteristics as Ashtart, to whom the dove and gazelle were sacred elsewhere.

* Smith, *Kinship*, p. 293.

† Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 23.

‡ Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

§ Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 23, and Smith's *Kinship*, 292.

|| Cf. also Smith's *Kinship*. § Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 29.

¶ Smith, *Kinship*, 294 and 295; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

†† Smith, *Kinship*, 197. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 37.

It would seem, then, that Al-Lat and Al-Uzza were both polyandrous mother goddesses, worshipped by rites of prostitution. Al-Lat means "the goddess" and "Al-Uzza, "the mighty one," so that both are appellatives, and as W. R. Smith points out,* were probably originally but different appellatives for the same goddess.

As we have noticed, Al-Lat appears as a name in the fifth century B. C., but Al-Uzza did not appear till much later, and then threw the old name much into the shade.† We have probably, then, to deal with one goddess and not with two.

But another interesting fact remains. Wellhausen points out‡ that Tar'uz, the name of a place near Harran, is probably the Tor (or *Taur*) of Uzza. Tar'uz, moreover, was a land of gardens, and *taur* seems to mean "well watered," so that this garden land would seem to be "the well watered land of Uzza." Now another Arabic word for "well watered land" is *athari*, which W. R. Smith connects (*Rel. of the Semites*, p. 97, n.) with the god Athtar, so that we have here a probable connection of both Al-Uzza and Athtar with well-watered land. This connection the golden gazelles found in the Zem-zem would tend to establish, since the gazelle was sacred to both Ashtart and Athtar, and the Zem-zem was sacred to Al-Uzza. This naturally suggests some organic connection between these two deities themselves. Wellhausen indeed suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 42) that Uzza may be a translation of Athtar. While, for reasons which will appear later, we cannot accept this suggestion as it stands, yet when we recall that this Arabic goddess was like the primitive Ištar and like Ashtart a goddess of unmarried love, that to her as to Ashtart the dove was sacred, that to her as to Ashtart and Athtar the gazelle was sacred, that she is, perhaps, connected with wells and well watered land, we must admit the very great probability that these Arabic goddesses were originally Athtars, and that in the lapse of centuries first Al-Lat and then Al-Uzza displaced that name. It must be said, it is true, that our definite sources of information are all late—that we get most of it from the fourth century A. D. and that some of these traits of likeness may have been borrowed from Ashtoreth in Syria. Prof. W. R. Smith thinks that that is the case with the dove as he finds little trace in Arabic names of the dove as a sacred bird.§ This, however, could not be said of the gazelle or antelope, which was so associated with the worship of this mother goddess in Arabia that women were often compared by Arabians to antelopes.|| That these animals were sacred to what is in character practically the same deity over one broad stretch of country from Phœnicia to Sabæa is in itself a strong argument in favor of the fundamental identity of the worship. And, moreover, the very fact that the sacredness of the dove could be borrowed from

* *Kinahp*, 295.

† Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 36.

‡ Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 41.

§ *Kinahp*, p. 197.

|| Smith, *Kinahp*, p. 195.

Syria, if borrowed it is, indicates the existence of an Arabian goddess so like Ashtoreth that the Arabians themselves found no difficulty in completing the worship of their own goddess from that of the Syrian deity.

It must also be borne in mind that it might be very plausibly argued that notwithstanding the apparent organic connection of these deities and the probability that they originated in the same circle of ideas, there is no evidence that the name Athtar was known in northern Arabia, and that the absence of all trace of it in Arabic literature shows that it arose after the northern Arabs were separated from the rest of the Semitic stock. This possibility is so formidable that it prevents us from asserting positively that Athtar was known in northern Arabia; but on the other hand it must be remembered that we have no Arabic literature before the sixth century A. D. and that it would be quite possible for the name Athtar or its north Arabic equivalent to co-exist by the side of Al-Lat for centuries and yet disappear before the literary era. That in all probability this was the case the name Ashtar-Chemosh of the Moabite stone (l. 17) gives us ground for supposing. We know from the Nabathæan inscriptions that Al-Lat was known in the same general region as Moab, and though Ashtar in the name Ashtar-Chemosh seems to be masculine (which it would of course be where applied to a masculine deity like Chemosh) it nevertheless indicates the use of the name in the very region where we have supposed it to exist. If, moreover, the Nabathæans had used it of their own chief deity, Al-Lat, it would have been of course feminine as in Babylonia.

The consideration, moreover, that Athtar and Al-Uzza are both connected with wells and self-irrigated land, in which connection we shall find that the name Athtar or Ištar most probably originated, seems to so turn the scale of probability that we may not only infer from the facts cited that this name was known in northern Arabia, but hope that future discoveries will enable us to prove it beyond dispute.

§ 16. PROBLEMS.

It is now necessary to glance at some problems connected with the cult of Ištar. Having reviewed the material in the various fields and so far as possible ascertained the facts in each portion of the territory, we are now in a position to face such problems. Of the real kinship of the deities heretofore treated it is unnecessary to speak. No one will doubt that Ishtar, Ashtart, Ashtoreth and Athtar are etymologically the same.

1. The first problem which confronts us may be stated thus: Was this divine name native among the south as well as among the north-Semites, or was it borrowed by the southern Semites from the northern?

This question we have already dealt with in part in our sections on Athtar and Al-Lat and Al-Uzza. We ought perhaps to confess that the materials extant

are too scanty to enable us to decide it absolutely. The only facts which seem to favor the supposition of borrowing are the peculiar correspondences between the Sabaeen and Babylonian languages, e. g. in their pronouns; and the epithet שֶׁרֶקֶן. As we have already seen, this epithet is capable of quite a different explanation from that which suggests borrowing, and before we can assert that the linguistic correspondences indicate such an intercourse between the peoples of South Arabia and Babylonia as would make borrowing possible, we must know more than is yet known of the original home of the Semites and the order of their separation in dispersing to their various national abodes. It must be remembered that it is quite as possible that the causes of the correspondences between the Sabaeen and Babylonian languages and civilizations are shrouded in the mysteries of this larger problem of the order of Semitic national separation, as that they lie within the range of intercourse between the two peoples after their separation.

Moreover I think it may be said that all the facts known except those mentioned would indicate that Athtar is quite as much a native deity in South Arabia as Ištar is in Babylonia or Ashtart in Phoenicia. The difference of the gender of the deity in Sabaea, which could only be accounted for by a long and independent development on Sabaeen soil, the conception of the deity as the guardian of tombs, as the god of the water supply, and his apparent association with the rising sun, all so different from the known characteristics of the Babylonian Ištar would indicate that Athtar was as much at home in Sabaea as Ištar was in Babylonia. And further, if our conjectures concerning the probable use of Athtar in North Arabia in ancient times (see §15) be of any value, the worship of Athtar was not confined to Sabaea but extended very widely over northern Arabia. In this case the probability that Athtar was as much a native South-Semitic deity as Ištar was a native North-Semitic deity would be rendered certain. On the whole, then, it may be said that the known facts seem to indicate that the Athtar cult was not borrowed from North Semitic.

2. Our second problem is: where did this divine name originate? Was it in the primitive Semitic home before the separation of the Semitic peoples or at some later time? As soon as this problem is stated it becomes evident that its answer depends very largely upon the answer found to our first problem, for if it could be shown that the South Semites borrowed the name from the North Semites, the probability would be that the name Ištar or Athtar, or whatever it was originally, sprang up after the separation of the Semitic nationalities. If, however, we follow the opinion indicated by the preponderance of the factors of our last problem, that such borrowing did not occur, the probability that this name reaches back for its beginnings to the home of the primitive Semites would be of considerable weight. We saw, too, in our study of the Ištar of Erech, reason to believe that that goddess originated in the most primitive conditions of human society known to us—a totemistic polyandrous or promiscuous matri-

archate, and while the facts there brought out existed perhaps centuries after the separation of the Semitic peoples, the widely extended use of the name Ištar, would, unless some borrowing from north to south can be shown, lead us strongly to suspect that these or very similar conditions existed in the primitive Semitic home and that there this name originated. It must be said that we find traces at Erech of the oldest form of this cult. This may, however, indicate no more than that at Erech a civilization arose which preserved the memory of this primitive worship in literary monuments which have had the good fortune to survive till our time, while nearly all traces of this cult elsewhere at times equally early have disappeared. But if this divine name originated in primitive Semitic times, and if we could determine with any accuracy its meaning, the search for a locality where such a name could originate would enter as one element into the much vexed question of where the Semitic race took its rise.

3. We must next consider whether this divine name was originally the name of a specific deity or whether it was itself an appellation or title. Bearing upon this problem we have the facts gathered in the preceding sections with reference to the characters of the deities to which the name was applied. These deities were in all North Semitic lands goddesses of fertility and love except in special cases where they were virgin goddesses, and in these cases the causes which produced the virgin goddesses out of the goddesses of productivity could be traced. In South Semitic territory at least one of these deities was connected with the water supply which in its turn is closely connected with the conception of fertility. We have seen, too, the Ištar of Babylon called the "bringer forth of verdure" (see p. 16). These facts are parallel in almost every particular to the characteristics of the Phœnician and Canaanitish Baal, as they are exhibited in Prof. Smith's analysis, *Rel. of Sem.*, pp. 92-101. As the characters of Baal and Ištar are so nearly parallel we may perhaps look for a similar analogy in their names. Now Baal we know was a mere title originally—a title of such easy, natural and general application that it was applied to different deities, but which gradually clung to certain ones as a proper name. We can watch as has already been noticed (see § 3), the changes from the title to the name in some cases. Analogy, then, would lead us to expect something similar in the case of Ištar, and the many Ištars of kindred yet varying characteristics, widely scattered throughout the Semitic domain confirm the suggestion of analogy that some widely popular title was applied to many local goddesses, until the goddess if she ever had another name lost it and came to be known by the title only. The Ištar title would antedate in time the Baal title by as much as a matriarchate antedates individual property in the soil and what Professor Smith in his *Kinship* calls *baal* marriages.

In the case of Ištar, moreover, as we have noticed above, the consciousness that the word was a title seems to have been largely lost, though its use in

Assyrian in the sense of "goddess" betrays a feeling that there was in the word a larger meaning than attaches to most proper names.

4. If, then, this divine name be a title what is its meaning? The widespread conception of fertility, productivity and love connected with this name would indicate that either it should mean, as *baal* does, the possessor of productive, i. e. self-irrigated land, or some term signifying productivity itself. It is evident, however, that we cannot go into the meaning of the word without discussing its etymology, and this brings us face to face with the question, is the name of Semitic or of non-Semitic origin? Professor Sayce—*Hibbert Lectures* for 1887, p. 253 sq.—maintains the non-Semitic origin of Ištar on the ground that it lacks the feminine ending and that among the Babylonians themselves the gender of Ištar is sometimes uncertain. This could not have been the case, he thinks, among a Semitic people, to whom the distinction of gender seemed so absolutely necessary. The main reasons which he urges, however, are founded on the astronomical tablet III R. 53, 30–39, which by no means necessarily indicates that Ištar was masculine, for even if the star Dilbat was sometimes masculine Ištar did not, as Sayce supposes, originate in its worship. The fact that her name is often used with a masculine form of the verb can be paralleled in the case of other goddesses, e. g. Allat in the poem of Ištar's Descent. The omission of the sign of the feminine ending from Ištar, moreover, is paralleled in Sabæan by the name of the goddess Shamas, which bears no feminine ending (see *supra*, § 14, and Mordt. and Müll., *Sab. Denk.*, No. 13, l. 1). If, however, as we have found abundant reason to believe the name Ištar originated in a matriarchal society, it originated when the chief divinity was without any sign of gender understood to be a goddess. In this it would differ from the first from such names as Bililit, Zarpanit, Tashmit, etc. The addition of a feminine ending in Ashtart and Ash-toreth would be but a natural later assertion of the Semitic feeling for gender in Phœnicia and Palestine, while in Babylonia the shorter form might through long use survive without a feminine ending. We find no sufficient basis then for asserting the non-Semitic origin of Ištar, while all that we have learned of her character and history and the diffusion of her worship would lead us to look for a Semitic origin. We may, I think, claim with Zimmern (*Bab. Buss.*, p. 38 sq.), who follows Schlottmann, and with Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 181), that the word is good Semitic. But having reached this conclusion we have a still more difficult task to determine what the word means. It is a quadriliteral of no usual Semitic type. On the analogy of certain Arabic quadrilaterals an etymology might be attempted on the theory that the quadrilateral עשתר was made by a prefixed י. For example, from תָּקַל to be heavy we have עָתָקַל to bear heavy clusters of dates (see Imrul-Kais, *Moallakat*, l. 35, and Lane's *Arabic Lex.*, p. 1953), perhaps also from جَرَفَ to take away, we have عَجَرَ to go wrong or

be awkward (Lane, 1959), etc. On this analogy עֶשֶׂת would come from the root שֶׁת with a prefixed ע. So far as I have been able to discover, however, no satisfactory etymology can be offered from this stem, i. e. an etymology which will explain the union of the name with the characteristics we have found to belong to Ištar, and shall not be too abstract for the primitive people among whom, as we have seen, Ištar must have had her origin.

We are led, therefore, to look for the meaning of the word Ishtar from a root עֶשֶׂת with ת inserted after the second radical. This is the solution proposed by both Zimmern and Delitzsch in the references given above (p. 69), though they differ as to the method of the ת insertion, Delitzsch suggesting with an interrogation that the ת was inserted originally after the first radical as in the eighth form of the Arabic verb, and that then a metathesis between the ת and ש has occurred similar to that known in Hebrew and Aramaic between a first radical ש and a preformative ת; while Zimmern maintains that the ת was inserted originally after the second radical. After a careful search for analogies I am inclined to concur in the opinion of Zimmern, as I can find no clear evidence of such metathesis as Delitzsch supposes, unless it be in the one word which he offers as analogy, and which is equally well explained by Zimmern's theory. On the other hand several, though by no means numerous, analogies can be produced in favor of a word formation in Semitic with ת inserted after the second radical. Delitzsch gives in Assyrian the word *kuštāru* 'tent,'* while Zimmern† claims as such a formation the Hebrew word צִנְתָּר 'a tube' or 'spout' (Zech. iv. 12), and Stade‡ counts the Ethiopic quadriliteral verbs *khartama* 'to be unfortunate' or 'wretched,' *kuestara* 'to cleanse' or 'scour,' *gafte'e* 'to turn about,' and *ḥantasa* 'to pluck' or 'gather,' as formations of this kind.

He claims that although the last example cited has *ḥ* instead of *t*, that the *ḥ* was developed out of an original *t* under the influence of the preceding *k*. These examples, though few, come from widely different parts of the Semitic area, and are for that very reason the more significant. Along then with *kuštāru*, צִנְתָּר, *khartama*, *kuestara*, *gafte'e*, and *ḥantasa* we may put our Ištar or Ahttar or whatever its original form may have been, and look for its etymology in a stem עֶשֶׂת or עֶשֶׂת. The etymology actually offered by Zimmern (*op. cit.*, p. 39), is from the stem עֶשֶׂת a synonym of חֶשֶׂת 'to bind,' 'to unite,' which makes Ishtar mean 'a union' or 'combination.' He thinks that this etymology suits the meaning demanded by the expression עֶשֶׂת צֶאֱן (offspring of the flock) of Deut. vii. 13.

This etymology, however, is far from satisfactory. It is altogether too abstract for a people as primitive as we have shown those to be among whom

* *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 181.

† *Bab. Buss.*, p. 39.

‡ *Thesaurus Ge'ezsprache*, p. 41.

Ištar originated, and offers no satisfactory connection between the name and the character of Ištar.

A much more satisfactory etymology may be found by deriving Athtar from the Arabic عَثَرَ "to fall" by inserting a ت after the second radical. The عَثَرَ thus formed would have both a transitive and an intransitive meaning. Its transitive sense would apply to the mother meaning "she who makes fall" or "casts forth," and its intransitive sense to the young as "that which falls" or "is cast forth." This etymology would naturally arise among a primitive people whose imagination would be greatly impressed by the birth of animals. It would seem that the intransitive use of this word has survived in the Hebrew עֲשָׂתָרָה צִאֵן referred to above.

The probability of this etymology is somewhat increased when we notice that עֲשָׂתָרָה in Deut. VII., etc., is made parallel to שֶׁנֶּר, "foetus," used for the young of cattle and coming from a stem which apparently means "to cast forth," while בָּקָר "ox," בֶּקֶר "a young camel," and the Ethiopic *bakuer* "firstborn," are from a stem meaning "to burst forth" or "split."

The transitive use of Athtar would, as has been said, apply to the mother, and is preserved to us in the name of the widely worshipped Semitic mother goddess.

Professor Smith has shown (*Rel. of Sem.*, Lect. III), how in early times the gods were thought to haunt certain localities, especially those whose soil was self-irrigated and productive. In a society where the goddess is a mother, the highest government known being that of the mother, the deity which inhabits an oasis and dwells in its spring would necessarily be a mother goddess, and the verdure and trees would be considered her offspring.

This seems actually to have occurred among the ancient Semites, for we find Athtar in Sabaea connected with wells, and Ishtar in Babylonia called the "producer of verdure." Thus the idea of maternity was extended to the vegetable world.

The etymology here offered, if not the true one, has, I think, the advantage of satisfying all the known conditions of the case better than any other yet proposed.*

5. The next problem which confronts us is how to account for the great variety of aspects assumed by the deities bearing this name in the various parts of the Semitic area, ranging as they do from the old polyandrous mother goddess of the Gilgamesh epic to the celestial virgin of North Africa, and the masculine

* We have in Hebrew עֲשָׂרָה and in Aramaic ܥܫܪܐ "to be rich." It may be that these are connected with our root عَثَرَ. "That which falls" being equal to "outcome," "riches," "offspring." It is also possible that the root meaning may have been "offspring," and "that which falls" may be a derived meaning. These possibilities, however, would not affect the etymology offered above.

deity of Sabaea. This problem Professor Smith has already solved for us in so far as solution is possible, in the *Rel. of the Sem.*, pp. 55-75. He has there shown how, as the organization of society advanced and the matriarchate gave way to a patriarchate, the old independent mother goddess would become the wife of a male deity, and then as monarchy arose, a queen. All this we have found, moreover, in the Ištar of Nineveh and Babylon and the Ashtart of Sidon and Carthage. He points out, also, how under the same influence this god of productivity apparently continued in Sabaea to hold the supreme place as a male deity instead of being subordinated to another as the female. This accounts for all except the development of possible virgin goddesses, and the growth of these we have already traced under the various influences of war, advancing civilization and foreign influence.

6. Our next problem is to solve the astral developments of the Ishtar cult—to explain how this deity became connected with Venus in Babylonia, the moon and Venus in Phœnicia, the sun and Venus in Arabia, and apparently the rising sun in Sabaea. The fact that the same deity is connected with three heavenly bodies is itself proof that the deity did not originate in astral worship.

The solution of this lies, I think, in the fact that the identification of deities with heavenly bodies was a later development, and did not occur until the Semitic peoples had separated and different systems of mythology had grown up in their various homes. The identification of Ištar with heavenly bodies will, at all events, be found to correspond to these local myths. It would also seem that in each country the idea of identifying deities originally chthonic with a heavenly body did not arise until some of these celestial bodies had been themselves deified, or until they heard that such was the case elsewhere. In Babylonia and Assyria where the Moon-god was regarded as the father of the Sun-god, and Ishtar as the wife or sister of the Sun-god, she would naturally be identified with the brilliant Venus which plays so beautifully about the sun, while in Phœnicia where she was the wife of Baal, and Baal seems to have been identified with the Sun-god, she would become the Moon-goddess, since the moon was here regarded as the companion, not the father of the sun.

In Arabia, where Al-Lat was the real Baal, she was herself identified with the sun, while in Sabaea, where Shamas was an independent Sun-goddess and Athtar the real Baal, Athtar seems to have been identified with the rising sun, which may have been thought to well represent the god who caused plants and men to spring into being.

The identification of Ashtart with Venus seems to have been borrowed from Babylonia, while the identification of Al-Uzza with the same planet, I cannot at present explain, knowing so little of the myths of ancient Arabic heathenism.

7. The problem next arises:—how account for the great variety of animals sacred to these deities—the eagle, horse, lion and jackal at Erech, the lion among

the Suti, perhaps the ox at Babylon, perhaps also the lamb in Assyria and Babylonia, the sheep and perhaps the dog in Palestine, the bull, gazelle, dove and boar in Phœnicia, the sheep, boar and dog in Cyprus, the dove at Eryx, the sheep at Carthage, the dove and gazelle in Arabia, and the gazelle and perhaps the ox in Sabaëa. Did the Ištar cult originate where all these animals are found, or as the Semitic people dispersed did various local conditions make different animals sacred? General probability as well as the peculiarly local character given to the story of the killing of Tammuz by the boar on mount Lebanon, would indicate that the latter alternative contains the true solution, viz: that various local causes have made different animals holy in different places, and that possibly local cults have been absorbed into the Ištar cult. And yet the case of the gazelle, sacred to what was, in all probability, originally the same deity, over a wide stretch of territory from Phœnicia to Sabaëa, indicates a certain organic unity in a portion of the Ištar cult, in a part, at least, of the territory.

8. The last problem we shall notice is: what is the origin and underlying thought in the Tammuz wailing, and what connection has it with Ištar worship?

We have found this wailing custom at Erech, Nineveh, in Palestine and Phœnicia, and at Nineveh and in Phœnicia have found it explained by different local myths. Lenormant in his *Sur le Nom Tammuz*, thinks he can trace the Hebrew form of the name back to a root מן, and the Assyrian form back to a root תן or דן, and he thinks that these names are both traceable to Babylonia, where they existed side by side. The root מן is found in the Arabic مَوْز, which means 'a fruit tree,' 'a cluster of fruit,' 'a bunch of bananas,' etc. (see Lane's *Lex.*, p. 2744).

One would not feel like putting much confidence in this etymology by itself, but if we should find it to fit into known facts we could give it more credence. J. G. Frazer in his "*Golden Bough*," published in 1890, Vol. I, pp. 278-296, shows from a very wide induction of facts a strong probability that Tammuz was connected with vegetation.* Some of his material, which he takes from Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures* for 1887, is from Assyrian sources, but as the material is yet unpublished it is not accessible to me. From what we have been led to assume concerning the original nature of Ištar this is just what we should expect. Tammuz, moreover, is defined in II R. 36, 54 as *līb-lībī* or "the offspring," and in a mythological document in II R. 59, col. 2, l. 9 Ishtar is called his mother. It would seem probable, therefore, that Tammuz and the myths connected with him had their origin in some ancient tree worship in connection with the primitive, natural shrines of Ištar, where perhaps some never-failing spring represented the goddess and some sacred tree her son.

* Cf. also Smith's *Rel. of the Semites*, p. 392 sq.

Professor Smith remarks that "the legends of the death of the gods are ordinarily the projections into mythology of the rules of sacrificial ritual."* If this be true we are to look for the origin of Tammuz wailing in sacrificial customs rather than in the vicissitudes of the vegetable world. Perhaps we shall not go far astray, then, if we suppose that the customs of wailing began as a ceremony of mourning for the death of some sacred animal slain in sacrifice, such as exists among the Toda's of South India to this day.† Later a different explanation was sought for the wailing, an explanation more in accord with advancing civilization, and the sacrificial rite was projected into the myth of the death of Tammuz, and evidence sought for its support from the periodical withering and death of the foliage of the sacred tree.

In some such way as this the nucleus of these Tammuz myths was probably formed. When once formed the reviving vegetation of the tree would naturally lead to the addition to the myth of the resurrection of the god.

It only remains for us to recall at how early a date we found traces of this myth at Erech, and to note how it was modified from age to age, reflecting the civilization of successive centuries and the local conditions of different countries in turn. For example, at Erech in the age represented by the Gilgamesh epic, Tammuz is the rejected husband of a veritable vixen of a goddess; at Nineveh in the age represented by "Ištar's Descent," he is the beloved husband of Ištar's youth, to redeem whom from death she visits Hades, leaving the world in danger of depopulation from the lack of desire caused by her absence; while in Phœnicia he is slain by a boar, but comes to life again after certain days, when Ashtart is congratulated for his restoration by peculiar and special sacrifices.

In conclusion it is only necessary to remark that the problems here discussed are all so very obscure that the remarks made upon them are offered as tentative suggestions rather than absolute solutions. It is hoped, however, that these suggestions at least point in the direction from which the final solutions may be expected.‡

* *Rel. of the Sem.*, p. 326 n.

† *Smith's Rel. of the Sem.*, p. 281.

‡ I did not notice until after writing the above explanation of the origin of Tammuz wailing that Prof. W. B. Smith had anticipated me in the application of his theory to this particular case. See *Rel. of Sem.*, p. 392 n.

§ Richter in his *Kypros* (published since this MS. was written)—*Text*, p. 130 and *Plate LXXXVI*, has described some ten wooden idols found in Astarte shrines in Cyprus. Some of these show, clearly the form of the tree, while some of them are carved so as partially to represent a female figure. One of them represents three rude figures of women dancing around a tree. These figures throw much light on the genesis of Ištar and strikingly confirm the theory of the origin of Ištar suggested above. For a line of proof of the vegetable relations of Ištar cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

PRAYER OF THE ASSYRIAN KING ASURBANIPAL. (CIR. 650 B. C.)

BY JAMES A. CRAIG.

(Read before the Philological Society of the University of Michigan.)

The following prayer is inscribed upon a clay tablet, K. 1285, which is contained in the British Museum collection of Assyrian antiquities. I copied the tablet in August, 1892, together with many more during that and the present year, some of which I hope shortly to publish. When I undertook to publish and translate this text I was not aware that any translation of it had been given, except the one mentioned by Bezold, *Cat.*, by Oppert (*Fragments Mythologiques*, pp. 30, f.), which I have not been able to consult. A few days ago, however, I found that a translation of it had appeared from the pen of Mr. Strong in Vol. VI of *The Rec. of the Past* (New Series). Mr. Strong promises the text with a philological commentary in the Proceedings of the Ninth Inter. Congr. of Orientalists. This volume has already appeared, but my copy has not yet reached me.

As some of the signs are scarcely legible and the prayer is one of great value not only from a religious but also from a linguistic standpoint, I have not hesitated to publish the results of my own work upon it, especially as they differ considerably from Mr. Strong's in the translation. There may be a difference in the texts also. Mr. Strong declares that Mr. Oppert's translation is incomprehensible in many cases. The notes added are not intended to be exhaustive, nor are some of them advanced as the only possible explanation of the words, but merely as the ground of my rendering, after having carefully considered the possibilities in each case.

The religious importance of a prayer such as this is much greater than appears at first sight. No one can read this prayer and disbelieve in the genuine faith of the worshipper—nor in his deep and overwhelming conviction of sin, nor in his simple, child-like trust in a God willing to forgive and guide and at last to save eternally. The Assyrian kings are usually charged with an unbounded degree of self-exaltation and haughtiness, and the charge is partly justified by the preambles in their historical inscriptions (but even there they are strong, as they claim, in the strength of heaven). It is, therefore, interesting to hear the words of the great conqueror, and patron of literature when he communes in anguish of soul with his God, against whom he has sinned. Here there is a humility and helplessness worthy of some of the most truly penitential psalms. It is a crisis in the king's life. As it would appear from the intimations of the context the stability

of his kingdom is threatened, or the fear of death has taken hold upon him. Whatever it is, he regards it, as was common to the Semitic mind, as the consequence of sin; therefore he pleads his guilt and sues for mercy. The intensity of petition is surpassed only by the free and full forgiveness uttered within his soul, or audibly heard in the tongueless voices of the winds.

It is interesting to note also the similarity with Hebrew thought found in certain passages. Verse 9, Thy lips shall not languish, etc. Cf. ψ 119: 123, Mine eyes fail for thy salvation. Verse 8, Thy feet shall not be moved. Cf. ψ 17: 36, Thou hast enlarged my steps under me and my feet have not slipped. ψ 26: 12, My foot standeth in an even place. Line 10, Thy tongue shall not utter the fear of thy lips. Cf. Isa. xxx. 27, His lips are full of indignation, etc. Compare also vs. 6-8 of reverse, where the king is said to have been set as a babe upon the knees of the goddess Ištar and to have sucked the paps that were put in his mouth, with Isa. LXVI. 10 sqq., where Jerusalem is represented as a benignant mother at whose breasts the pious Israelites are to suck and who like little children are to be dandled upon her knees.

I have called this production a 'prayer,' but I have done so provisionally. It seems to have been composed for some extraordinary occasion, an occasion possibly such as that suggested in the notes on l. 12, when the king's image was set up

TRANSLITERATION.

OBVERSE.

- 1up-ta-na-at-ta-ka ^{11u}nabû ina puḫur ilâni rabûti
 - 2 [ḫa-at-t]a-nu-a la it-ta-nak-ša-du napišti-ya
 - 3ki at-ta-na-aḫ-ḫar-ka ḫar-rad ilâni âhê-šu
 - 4ti m. ^{11u}Ašur-bâni-apal a-na ur-kiš a-na ma-ti-ma
 - 5 [a-na]-ku at-ti-'i-la ina šipê ^{11u}nabû
 - 6^{11u}nabû ina puḫur ḫa-at-ta-nu-u-a
 - 7 [it-ti-] ka m. ^{11u}Ašur-bâni-apal ana-ku nabû a-di ṣa-at um-mi
 - 8 šêpâ^{pl}-ka la is-sa-nam-ma-a la i-na-ru-ṭa ḫâtâ^{pl}-ka
 - 9 a-na-a-ti šaptâ-ka la in-na-ḫu a-na mi-taḫ-ḫu-ri-ya
 - 10 lišâni-ka la ta-at-ta-zal gi-ir-ta šaptâ-ka
 - 11 šâ a-na-ku da-ba-bu tâbu at-ta-na-ad-da-nak-ka
 - 12 a-mat-taḫ riši-ka u-šad-daḫ la-an-ka ina bît É-Bar-Bar
-
- 13 ^{11u}nabû iḫ-ta-nah-bi ma-a pi-i-ka am-mi-u šâ tâbu
 - 14 šâ it-ta-na-aḫ-ḫa-ra a-na ^{11u}ur-kit-tu
 - 15 la-an-ka šâ ab-nu-u-ni it-ta-na-aḫ-ḫar-an-ni a-na i-tu-us-si ina E-Bar-Bar
 - 16 šim-ta-ka šâ ab-nu-u-ni [it]-ta-at-ta-na-aḫ-ḫar-ra-an-ni
 - 17 ma-a iši bi-bi-la ina bît šar-rat kalam-ma
 - 18 napšâti-ka it-ta-na-aḫ-ḫar-a-ni ma-a balat-su ur-rik m. ^{11u}Ašur-bâni-apal
-

within the temple, an event which may have coincided with the divine assemblage, likewise at the beginning of the year, at which the destiny of the king was determined. For such a purpose it would be exceedingly appropriate. The king would make confession and supplication and the priest pronounce in the name of the divinity the divine forgiveness and promise.

There is a suggestion, in the composition, of some of the old English Miracle-plays and of some of the compositions of the Vedas, but, so far as I am aware, the 'prayer' does not furnish a *parallel* to anything we find in either the Miracle-plays or the liturgies of the Hindoos.

TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

(Asurbanipal's confession.)

- 1 (I) confess to thee, O Nebo, in the assembly of the great gods.
- 2 My transgressions let them not overwhelm my soul.
- 3 I present myself before thee, divine hero, among his brethren :
- 4 (As for me), Asurbanipal, continually, forever,
- 5 I have cast myself at the feet of Nebo,
- 6 (I am prostrate), O Nebo, in the multitude of my transgressions.

(Here the scribe omitted the paragraphing line).

(The divine answer.)

- 7 With thee O Asurbanipal I, Nebo, shall be while days endure,
- 8 Thy feet shall not be moved, thy hands shall not be withdrawn,
- 9 These thy lips shall not languish for my approach,
- 10 Thy tongue shall not utter the fear of thy lips.
- 11 Seeing that I goodly things will bestow upon thee ;
- 12 I will raise up thy head, I will cause thine image to be brought into E-Bar-Bar.*

(Divine assurance that his prayer is well pleasing and that intercession has been made.)

- 13 Nebo spake, saying: Thy mouth uttereth that which is good,
- 14 Even that which has come unto the divine Urkittu
- 15 Thy image, which I have made, is come before me within the sanctuary of
E-Bar-Bar
- 16 Thy destiny, which I have determined, has been brought before me,
- 17 Thus: "Grant the desire (?) in the temple of the Queen of the Universe"
- 18 Thy life (soul), also, has been brought before me, saying: "His life prolong,
even the life of Asurbanipal."

* E-Bar-Bar was a temple of Ištar in Nineveh (cf. K. 1236, ll. 4, 5), and should be read bit šarrat kalāma. See l. 17, and Notes.

- 19 ka-mi-iş ina ki-in-şi-i-šu m. lu Aşur-bâni-apal it-ta-na-aḥ-har a-na lu nabû
bêli-šu
20 ad-da-ni-ka lu nabû la tu-maš-şar-an-ni ya-a-ši
21 balaṭi-ya ina pani-ka ša-ṭir napšâti-ya paḥ-da ina sun lu belit
22 ad-da-ni-ka lu nabû gaš-ru la tu-maš-şar-an-ni ya-ši ina bi-rit ḥa-ta nu-ti-ya
-

- 23 i-tap-la za-ki-ku ištu pan lu nabû bêli-šu
24 la ta-pal-laḥ m. Aşur-bani-apal napšâte arkâti ad-da-nak-ka
25 šârê ṭâbê ana napšâti-ka a-paḥ-ḫid
26 pi-ya am-mi-u šâ ṭâbu iḫ-ta-nar-rab-ka ina puḥur ilâni rabûti
-

REVERSE.

- 1 ip-ti-ti m. Aşur-bâni-apal ar-ni-šu it-ta-na-aḥ-har a-na lu nabû bêli-šu
2 ša iṣ-ba-tu ina šépâ lu šar-rat Ninua^{kl} la i-lu-aṭ ina puḥur ilâni rabûti
3 ša ina ḫa-an-ni šâ lu ur-kit-tu ka-şir la i-lu-aṭ ina pu-ḥur ḥa-ṭa-nu-ti-šu
4 ina pu-ḥur ḥa-ṭa-nu-ti-ya la tu-maš-şar-a-ni lu nabû
5 ina pu-ḥur in-ya as-si-ya la tu-maš-şa-ra napšâti-ya
-

- 6 ši-iḫ-ru at-ta m. lu Aşur-bâni-apal šâ u-maš-şir-ka ina êli lu šar-rat Ni-
nua^{kl}
7 la-ku-u at-ta m. lu Aşur-bâni-apal šâ aṣ-ba-ka ina bur-ḫi lu šar-rat Ni-
nua^{kl}
8 ir-bi zi-zi-i ša ina pi-ka šak-na ti-in-ni-iḫ šinâ ta-ḥal-lib ana pa-ni-ka
9 ḥa-ta-nu-ti-ka m. lu Aşur-bâni-apal ki-i si-pi ina pa-an' mi-i i-la-'u
10 ki-i bur-bi-il-la-a-ti šâ pa-an irşi-ti ta-at-ta-ar-ru-ku ina šêpa-ka
11 ta-az-za-az m. lu Aşur-bâni-apal ina tar-şi ilâni rabûti tu-na-a-ad ana êlat
šamê

(Asurbanipal continuing to pray magnifies Nebo.)

- 19 Bowing down in his humility Asurbanipal prays unto Nebo, his lord :
- 20 I magnify thee, O Nebo, forsake thou not me, even me,
- 21 My life is written before thee, my soul reposes in the bosom of Beltis.
- 22 I magnify thee, O Nebo, thou mighty one, abandon me not, even me, in the midst of sins.

(The divine response.)

- 23 There answered a breeze from the presence of Nebo, his lord * (saying) :
- 24 " Fear thou not, O Asurbanipal, long life will I vouchsafe unto thee,
- 25 Favoring winds for thy life I have appointed (for thee),
- 26 My mouth, uttering that which is good, shall present thee in the assembly of the great gods.

REVERSE.

(Confession of Asurbanipal.)

- 1 The confession of Asurbanipal, his sin is brought before Nebo, his lord,
- 2 That which he took at the feet of the queen of Nineveh he did not conceal in the assembly of the great gods.
- 3 That which with the reed of the divine Urkittu is recorded he did not conceal in the assembly of the great gods.
- 4 In the multitude of my transgressions abandon me not, O Nebo,
- 5 In the multitude of my sins (and) my sorrows forsake thou not my soul.

(The divine response.)

- 6 Little wert thou, O Asurbanipal, when I committed thee to the (care of the) Queen of Nineveh ;
- 7 A babe wert thou, O Asurbanipal, when I satisfied thee on the knees of the queen of Nineveh,
- 8 The plentiful paps, which into thy mouth were put, thou didst suck, with the two (breasts) thou didst cover thy face.
- 9 Thy sins, O Asurbanipal, like the waves on the face of the water, shall come to nought.
- 10 Like the flowers (?) upon the face of all the earth they shall vanish before thy feet :
- 11 Be thou strong (= of good cheer), O Asurbanipal, in the presence of the great gods, thou shalt be exalted to the highest heaven.

* Cf. Acts II. 2.—And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of a rushing mighty wind and it filled all the house where they were sitting.

NOTES.

Obv. l. 1. *uptanatta*— $\sqrt{\text{פתח}}$ open, *Iftānaal*, II., 1 p. s. This is a rare and interesting form, only two other cases being known, and they occur also in the writings of Asurb., viz., *umdanallû* = *umtanallû* (they filled themselves) Asurb. Sm. 285.8, and *ušanallâ*, properly 3 f. pl. form (*he besought*) *ibid.*, 290.54, cf. Del. *AG.*, p. 229. The form is intensive-reflexive. The root פתח = open, II. = open or expose one's self fully, make unreserved confession.

1. 2. The restoration at the beginning is evident from the last two signs. The restoration to be made at the beginning of l. 1, one is probably *ana-ku*, I. *haṭṭanu* = *haṭṭānu*. A rare formation expressing intensity from *haṭ** (like Heb. עֲצָבָן fr. עֲצָב orig. עֲצָב = great sin, *sinfulness*).

1. 3. *attanaḥḥar* = *antanaḥḥar* = *antanáḥar*, I. $\sqrt{\text{מחר}}$ be before. I. be presented, present oneself (in supplication). Cf. also ll. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, Rev. 1.

1. 4. *urkiš*,—adv. fr. *urku*, length, Hebr. אָרָךְ. For the adverbial form with the preposition cf. *ana dāreš* (fr. *dāru* continuance), forever.

1. 5. *atti'ila* $\sqrt{\text{נהל}}$ lie down, Syn. *rabāṣu*, *nāḥu*; I. cast one's self down. *atti'ila* = *antāhil*. This passage confirms the close synonymity of these words. If the passage V R. 52, 61b, which I first noticed in '86, contains, as it probably does, this same verb, which, however, may be read *ṣalil* (or *salil(u)*, Dr. Delitzsch's identification of this Assyrian verb with the Hebr. נָהַל in *ψ.* 23 can hardly be doubted, notwithstanding the arguments against it advanced by the Arabists, especially Professors Praetorius, *Litteraturblatt f. or. Phil.*, I. 195, and Mueller, *ZK.*, I. 357sq. The passage in V R. reads: *alpi u immêri biriš nil(u)*, the oxen and the asses lie together (*zwischenweise*). The Hebrew of *ψ.* 23:1 { בָּנְאוֹת דֶּשֶׁא יִרְבִּיעֲנִי
עַל-מִי, מִנְחוֹת, יִנְהַלְנִי } demands by the parallelism a synonym of

רָבַץ in the second member, and there is no passage in the O. T. where נָהַל may not be so translated, and more appropriately in some passages (equally so in others) than by *lead*, a meaning ascribed to it by a very strained Arabic etymology. "He causeth me to lie down in green pastures, He maketh me to rest beside still waters," is certainly more conformable to this law of Hebrew poetry, preserving, as it does, the figure of the flock in tranquil repose with which the Psalmist begins the distich. The idea of Yahweh's presence in activity is introduced in *v.* 3. For other examples of the verb, *vid.* Del. *AG.*, p. 292.

1. 7. It seems that the scribe omitted the division line between this and the following paragraph. The restoration of *itti* at the beginning suits both the context and space.

1. 8. *issana(m)* $\sqrt{\text{שנה}}$ change. IV. = *iṣṣānâ* = *išṣānâ*. For the change from the palatal *š* to the dental *s* cf. *asala* (= *aštālala* Salm. ob. 129.) = *aššalala* = *assalala*. *Šallasu* (= *šallatšu*) *asala*, his spoil I carried off.

inaruṭa = ináruṭā, L. $\sqrt{\text{נרט}}$, pres. 3 f. pl. (for dual). Asurb. sm. 125.69 ul inirruṭa (= inruṭā, ináruṭa) šîpâ-ka "Nicht sollen zurueckhalten deine Fuesse," Professor Delitzsch, *AG.*, so also in my "Throne Inscr. Salm." "Thy feet shall not give way." *Ibid.*, Col. III. 7, the name of the outer wall of the city of Ašur is called munirriṭi-kibrâti, "the one that causes the four regions 'to tremble;'" see also V R. III. 58; VI. 72, etc. The general term "wage war," "shake," may be applied in the passages where this verb occurs, but what is the original meaning? May it not be, as I am inclined to suspect, though I cannot recall any examples of the change, that we have in the Assy. נרט the Heb. and Aram. מרט , Syr. ܡܪܬ and Arab. مَرَط to pluck out, draw off, flay, break, etc.? In favor of this identification, 1) مرט does not appear in Assyrian; 2) نרט does not appear in the other Semitic branches; 3) the change from م to ن in Assyrian is a common occurrence in the formation of nouns with prefix ن , cf. Assy. nappašu and منفس , narkabtu and مركبة , nalbušu, ملبس .¹ See on this subject Professor Haupt's extended treatment in *Beitraege z. sem. Sprache*, Vol. I., p. 158 sqq. 4) The change occurs likewise in finals in nouns, cf. בהן and Arab. بِهَام , so also in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes e. g. אתם and أنتم , but Syr. ܐܢܬܡ . See Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 67.

Accepting the original signification of "strip" and its extended meaning "break," these are applicable in the Assyrian texts, whether in such phrases as munirriṭi kibrâti, or in the phrases šîpâ-ka, kâtâ-ka ul ináruṭâ in view of the *usus loquendi* of the Semites. Cf. the use of פָּשַׁט in Hebrew, and hepû, uḥappî in Assyrian. Cf. Khors. Inscr., l. 14; I R. 36. 9. matâti kališîna kîma ḥašbâte udakḫiku; cf. גזז Nah. i. 12 וְגִזְזוּ וְעָבַר and they shall be cut off (by the enemy) and shall pass away, גזז being the term. tech. for "shearing" like מרט for "shaving;" cf. גלה to shave the head, Deut. xxi. 12, but also used of the complete destruction of the people, Isa. vii. 20, etc.

9. in-na-ḥa $\sqrt{\text{אנח}}$, L. Pres. 3 pl. f. (prop. innahâ) = i'naḥa. The word is usually found in connection with buildings, "to be in ruins," "fall into decay," hence, also, "perish," "fail." Cf. IV R. 9. 38, a, ša birkâšu la in-na-ḥa = whose knees do not become weary.

mi-taḥ-ḥu-ri— $\sqrt{\text{מחר}}$, L. Inf. = mitáḥuru. The prep. ana is here used in the sense of Heb. ב , ana mitáḥuriya = in my being present = in granting thy request.

10. ta-at-ta-zal $\sqrt{\text{נול}}$, = tantázal, L. 3 f. s. cf. Heb. נול to flow down, distil, then, fig. utter speech, cf. Deut. xxxii. 2 $\text{תִּזְלַח כַּסֵּל אֶמְרָתִי}$ — יערף במטר לקחי .

gi-ir-ta $\sqrt{\text{גרה}}$? (cf. dimtu fr. גרמה) cf. Heb. גרה and Aram. גרא , both in Pi. "excite," cf. also the Syriac ܓܪܬ . girtu would accordingly mean

¹ Cf. the Barth law.—R. F. H.

fear. The use of the word is a tropical one though founded upon a physical phenomenon, as in English, we say, "his lips (or face) blanched with fear," or "grew pale with excitement."

11. at-ta-na-ad-da-na $\sqrt{\text{נרן}}$ I. = antanadan.

12. a-mat-taḥ— $\sqrt{\text{מתח}}$ I, pres. 1 p. = amataḥ. Cf. IV R. 61 (68), 28 b, ina eli a-mí-lu-ti la ta-tak-kil mu-tu-uh ḡnêka a-na a-a-ši du-gul-an-ni = Put not thy trust in man, *lift up* thine eyes towards me, look upon me. Cf. Del. *Heb. Lang.*, p. 40, and *Proleg. S.* 177, also Lotz. *Tig. S.* 131. The word מתח in Heb-Aram. means "to spread or stretch out," Isa. XL. 22: "He *stretcheth out* the heavens like a tent," which is *raised up* as well as stretched out.

u-ṣad-dah $\sqrt{\text{שרח}}$, "go," "march," used both of warlike expeditions and ceremonial processions. In former sense cf. my *Mon. Inscr. Salm.*, p. 24, in the latter, note V R. 8. 98. The 25th day of the month Sivan was a ṣadaḥu (procession) of the lady (goddess) of Babylon. Cf. further I R. 67. 33a, and *Inscr. Wad. Brissa*, Pognon 8. 7, 29 sqq. This latter passage reads: "In Zakmuk, at the beginning of the year, at the Akitu festival of Marduk, the lord of the gods, when *Nebo*, the victorious son of Borsippa, iṣadi[h u] (i. e. enters) into Babylon, etc. Cf. also in connection with this passage and prayer, I R. 54, 2, 54 sqq. The place of destiny in Ubšugina, the holy-place of destiny within which, during Zakmuk, at the beginning of the year, on the 8th and 11th day, the king of heaven and earth, the lord god, dwells, the gods of the heavens and earth approach him, bowing down they stand in his presence, the destiny of the future, the destiny of my (Nebuchadnezzar's) life they hear. Cf. *Jens. Kosmol. S.*, 84 sqq. la-an-(ka): lānu = ṣalmu, image (which probably meant first, *dark shadow*, *silhouette*, cf. ṣalmu, "black"). Cf. IV R. 22, 9 and 10a with 13, 23 and 25a, which reads, l. 23 sqq: ṣarru ṣa ana ba-laṣ ḡmê ru-ḡu-ti ṣum-ṣu iṣ-ṣa-ka(nu) ṣa-lam-ṣu a-na ḡmê ṣa-a-ti i-ba-nu ina bit Ya-A-Ku (= Adar, Nebo) bītu ṣa taṣilti ḡiduti = the king whose name has been determined to live for future days his image for endless days is made (set up) in the temple of Nebo, the temple of festival (and) joy. For the reading of the last clause Bīt-KA-Ni = bīlu ṣa taṣiltu ḡiduti, see *ZK.*, p. 81. 7. Bit Ya-A-Ku = Adar V R. 37. 81a. (= Nabû II R. 57. 18 c.)

bit E-Bar-Bar, name of a temple of Ištar in Nineveh into which on the 16th of Tebet Ašurb. (or possibly his image), in ceremonial garb entered with costly and pure offerings, cf. K. 1276, obv. This month was sacred to Nebo, cf. V R. 43, 31 c, d, ¹¹¹Ab-Ba = Nabû ḡa-éṣ-ṣī ab-bu-ti, Nebo, the bestower of decision (?)

13. am-mi-u $\sqrt{\text{אמי}}$ I. part = 'āmiyu, "speak."

¹¹²Ur-kit-tu.—cf. Rev. 1. 3 ṣa ina ḡa-an-ni ṣa ¹¹³Ur-kit-tu ḡaṣir that which is collected with the reed of Ur. he did not conceal. The word is

probably the same as *urkitu* syn. of *arķu*, אֶרְכָּי. That a *god* is intended here, there can be no doubt from this verse. *ASKT.* 116, 8 *Ištar* is called *mušêšat urkiti* = she who causes the *urkitu* to come forth. But the reference in our text cannot be to the growth of the *urkitu* but to the use of it, hence = to *Kanû*. Cf. in this use *V R.* 9 a. 2. and b. 2, *bīlu^m i-bi-li ilāni ša ina šamê uiršiti^m i-diš-ši-šuši-i-ru; ka-a-tu a-mat-ka ina ir-ši-ti ina ša-ka-ni ur-ki-tūm ib-ba-an-ni* = The lord, leader of the gods in the heavens and earth, he alone is exalted; as for thee thy command on the earth, through the establishment of the *urkitu* is made glorious. There is no conclusive proof, but there is cumulative evidence in support of the proposition that the god *Nabû* was the ¹⁴*Urkitu*. 1) *Nebo* was regarded as the inventor of the cuneiform writing, *V R.* 43, 33 c, d, *Nabu banû šitri dupšarruti*, and is called the scribe of the gods. 2) *Kanû* is used for "stylus," in phrases such as: *rikis kanê* (II 29, 61a.) the bond (or record) of the reed, *kimi kanê idi* (IV 19, 54, b.) like a reed of the hand (writing reed), because made of wood and resembling a reed, or because reeds were used. 3) *Kan miḥri* = the reed of *miḥri*; *miḥru* is one of the attributes of *Nin-Ib*, II R. 67. 66, c. d. The word *miḥru* is probably to be explained here as meaning "presence," i. e. the recording reed, that which makes all past things present. It may, however, be taken as meaning "battle," but not so appropriately. 4) Similarly, *Šar-Šar* = *našpa(n)ti*, is an attribute of *Nin-Ib* (= *Nabû* II R. 57. 18, c.) cf. *Jensen's Kos.* § 239. They are found joined with *Urkitu*, K. 4931, obv. 7 (cf. Br. 5164) *mušêšat urkiti*. 5) *G I* = *kanu*, *šimtu* and *G I* - *Hal* = *banû piristi* = ¹⁴*Nabû*, *V R.* 43. 32. c. d. 6) *Ū-Šim* (*Rik*) = *urkitu*, ¹⁴*Šum* (*Ši*) and ¹⁴*Ūr* are titles of *Nabû* (*nitukki*) occurring together II R. 54. 72-3, g. h. It is probable that we have an error here, either in II R. or on the part of the scribe and that instead of *Ūr* we should have *Šim*. A note in my text, however, reads: "gut edirte Goetter-List," Del. *Vorlesg.*, '85.

15. *i-tu-us-i* probably = *itûsi*, and means here, judging from the context, something like *parakku*, sanctuary—cf. Note on l. 12. *itûsi* might be for *itûšši* = her (the temple's) *itû*, but *itû* means "side." If it meant "interior," "innermost part" here the construction would be proleptic; but if it means something like "holy-place" the construction is natural.

abnû-ni ✓ בְּנֵה, *ni* enclitic after the *u*-term. of the relative clause.

17. *iši* ✓ יִשֵּׁה, I, *Imv.* to have, be.

bibila. Accus. of *biblu*, "wish," "desire."

18. *ur-rik* ✓ אֶרְכָּי be long, II, *Imv.* = 'urrik, prolong.

19. *ka-mi-iš* ✓ קִמְצִי (varying with כִּמְצִי and כִּמְסִי) Heb. קִמְצִי *constringere*, bow down. That the reading is קִמְצִי here, is rendered probable by the following word *ki-in-ši-i* = *kimši* from the same root. The syllable *ši*, so

far as I know, is never read with a **D**. Cf. Deluge, *ALS*.³ 130, uḫtammišma attasab abakki, I bowed and sat down, I wept. For **כמ** see Sm. 1371 (Del. *H. Lang.* 49) šarrani šakkanaki u rubûti panûka kam-su, kings, potentates and magnates bow before thee (Gilgamis), and I R. 54, 62a.

addani **נאד**. This is a difficult form. It seems to be a present formed after the analogy of the imperfect with enclitic ni. Cf. Imperfect abar from **באר** and taddana, Del. *AG.*, §§ 18* and 275., addani = andani = anadani = an'ad(a)(ni). **נר** is not used alone in the sense demanded by the context, but is generally used in such texts in the response of the god, in the sense of "deliver," "grant," and is so used here, ll. 11, 24. Cf. IV R. 61 (68), Col. I. 21, 33, Col. IV. 57. Whereas, in the same texts, the divine command is na-'ida, Col. VI. 53, 58, or na-i-da, Col. II. 33, 39.

ša-ṭir.—Perm. I. 3. 5. **שטר** write.

paḫ-da.—Perm. I. 3, pl. f. for paḫdâ (pl.) for paḫdat (sing.) under the influence of the interchange between napišti and napšâtî.

sun.—St. C. sunu. Ur, Del. *ALS*.³ "Das Untenbefindliche bei Menschen u. Thieren." Das Obenbefindliche, i. e. *bosom, embrace*, is better supported by this passage and others, cf. IV R. I. 36 and 37, where Ur is translated by udlu (or tamlu), aš-sa-ta ina ud-li amêli i-tar-ru-ú, the wife in the embrace of her husband they cause to tremble (or the wife from the bosom of her husband they turn away), II R. 35, g. h. 63-70, ardatu ša ina sun mu-ti-ša ku-uz-ba (=ulṣu) la il-pu-tú—ardatu šaina sun mu-ti-ša ṣu-bat-sa la iṣ-ḫu-tu, the maid who in the bosom of her man does not turn away pleasure—the maid who in the bosom of her man does not remove her garment. (udlu might be read here tulu, which *ALS*.³ Gloss. defines "*weibliche Brust*.") Another word sunu occurs = Tu + Ku, V R. 15, 20, c. = šú-Su-Up-Ku, V 15, 43 c.

23. i-tap-la.—**תפל** answer, I, Impf. = itapal = i'tápal.

za-ḫi-ḫu.—Syn. of šâru, cf. Brun. 5622 and 5627.

25. a-paḫ-kid = apákid, Pres. 1, s.

REVERSE.

2. i-lu-at.—**לוט** (?) cf. Heb. **לוט**, cover, hide = ilûṭ, for ilwuṭ.

3. kašir.—**קצר** collect, Perm. I.

5. in.—cons. of énu = annu (?) sin.

assi.—I have taken from a nom. assu sorrow, cf. **أسى**, be sad, sorrowful.

7. la-ku-u.—V R. 23, 33 sqq. Tur-Da|du-mu da-ad-du-u| = šir-ru (cf. šurru beginning); ṣiḫru, small; la'u, weak?, and la-ku-u are given as synonyms. lakû means, therefore, and as the parallelism here requires, little, young. A comparison of this list with that in II R. 30, 29-49,

where da-du occurs, l. 41, suggests that both du-mu and da-ad-du-u, above, are Semitic; du-mu might well be derived from דומ (דָּמָם), cf. infant.

8. ir-bi.—יִרְבֵּי, enlarge, increase, irbu, fullness, *abundantia*.

zi-zi-i = zizê from zîzu, Hebr. זִיז. The Hebrew word occurs three times in the Old Testament. Following Kimchi and Abuwalid it is translated in ψ s. 50: 11; 80, 13, "wild beasts," in R. V. and A. V. The LXX. has in the first place *ὡραιότης* (beauty), in the second *μονὸς ἄγριος* (solitary) or *wild beast*. In Isa. LXVI. 11, the LXX. translates *μαστός* "breast," the A. V. and R. V. translate "abundance," the A. V. giving as a marginal rendering "brightness," evidently considering the word as probably the same as צִיץ. Gesenius Woerterb. gives "Fülle," and adds: "Die Bed. *Euter* lässt sich nicht erweisen." This passage in Assyrian settles the meaning of the word, for here it can mean nothing else than *pap, teat*. "The full zizê which were placed in *thy mouth* thou didst suck." Isa. LXVI. 11 reads, then: "that ye may suck and be satisfied with *the breasts* of her consolations, that ye may milk and be delighted with *the paps* of her glory." By an elliptical and synechdochical construction the word is used in our text in the second member of the parallelism in the sense of "breast," "with two (breasts) thou didst cover thy face." Here zîzu is used in the sense of šaddu. In both places where the word occurs in the Psalms it is used by the same poetic figure for "beasts," but it is only by synechdoche that it can mean "beast." Ps. L. 11, I know all the fowls of the mountains; and the *teats* of the field are mine.

tî-in-ni-iḫ = tînik יִנֵּק, suck. Impf. I. ta-ḫal-lab חָלַב cover, Pres. I. = taḫálab.

9. si-pi—must mean here something like "waves." Mr. Strong compares Arabic sîpî.

i-la'-u לֹא-לֵא to be without strength, vanish (cf. Heb. לָא, Ar. لَا and Arab. لَا. *vid. Del. Proleg.*, § 133).

10. bur-bi-il-la-a-tî.—pl. of a sing. burbiltu(?). Have we here a case of dissimilation bur for bul from a root בול?

ta-at-ta-ar-ru-ku.—וַתִּרְקַח cease, fail, pass away, I, Pres. 3 f. tattáru-ku. The forms i-tar-ra-ku, I R. 42, 19; III R. 14. 21, etc., should be read with *k* not *ḳ*; so also it-[â]riḫ Del. 123 *ALS*.³, 104). Delitzsch, Haupt, Jensen, תָּרַח.

11. ta-az-za-az.—וַתִּזְזַח be strong = ta'azaz (= tâzaz) Pres. 2. S.

tu-na-a-ad.—וַתִּנְאֵר II, = tuna'ad. II, usually converts the intrans. verb into a trans. This cannot be the case here in view of the following Prep. ana, which the verb, when actively used, does not take.

êlat šamê.—For this reading of An-Pa cf. Bruen. No. 481. This reading depends upon the rendering of the verb.

University of Michigan, Dec. 2, 1893.

LIVRE INTITULÉ LAISA

SUR LES EXCEPTIONS DE LA LANGUE ARABE

PAR IBN KHÂLOÛYA, DIT IBN KHÂLAWAIHI

TEXTE ARABE

PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT UNIQUE DU BRITISH MUSEUM

PAR

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PRÉFACE.

Il n'y a rien que d'exceptionnel dans la publication que les *Hebraica* ont si libéralement accueillie. Le sujet traité, ce sont les *exceptions* de la langue arabe. La langue employée par l'auteur indigène, c'est l'arabe, moins familier certes aux lecteurs de cette revue que l'idiome auquel elle a emprunté son nom. Enfin ce n'est point dans des circonstances régulières qu'en 1871 j'ai été amené à copier le manuscrit unique Add. 7516 du Musée Britannique à Londres¹. J'étais resté à Paris jusqu'au 12 avril, plus résigné à voir les Prussiens en Prusse qu'en France, lorsque la Commune, un moment triomphante, voulut m'imposer un uniforme galonné et des fonctions aussi élevées qu'éphémères. Dans ma fuite, je finis par arriver à Londres et par m'absorber dans l'étude pour oublier la guerre civile qui menaçait de la ruine ma patrie meurtrie par l'invasion et par la guerre étrangère. Mon esprit inquiet ne pouvait trouver le calme que dans un travail de courte haleine, peu fatigant et n'obligeant ni à des réflexions profondes, ni à des recherches compliquées dont il se sentait alors incapable. Qui m'eût dit que mon édition du Livre de Sibawaihi, alors à peine ébauchée, aurait paru toute entière avant l'opuscule d'Ibn Khâlawaihi que je copiais alors, d'une part pour guérir mon agitation fiévreuse, d'autre part pour servir de piédestal au monument que je comptais élever au plus ancien et au plus remarquable des grammairiens arabes ? Qu'importe d'ailleurs cette priorité ? Les compléments valent bien les introductions.

I

Abou 'Abd Allâh Al-Housain ibn Ahmad, surnommé Ibn Khâloûya ou, comme vocalisent les puristes entre les Arabes, Ibn Khâlawaihi, c'est-à-dire le Fils de celui qui ressemble à son oncle maternel, naquit à Hamadhân, dans le Djibâl. Nous ne sommes pas informés sur la date précise de sa naissance, mais elle n'est assurément pas postérieure à l'année 300 de l'hégire (912-913 de notre

¹ N°. DXXXVI, dans le *Catalogus codicum orientalium Musei Britannici* ; pars secunda, codices arabicos amplectens, p. 246, fol. 12-55.

ère). Peut-être, pour la fixer, faut-il remonter de deux ou trois années en arrière, mais c'est dans ces limites étroites qu'il est permis d'hésiter. Ibn Khâlawaihi ne voulut pas rester, selon son expression, "prisonnier du froid" à Hamadhân. Cette ville, comme il dit encore, "un paradis en été, était pendant l'hiver un véritable enfer."¹ Son tempérament n'eût pas supporté un séjour trop prolongé dans un climat homicide, au milieu de brouillards éternels.² Dès 314 (926-927 de notre ère) il quitta sa patrie pour aller continuer et parfaire ses études auprès des maîtres en renom qui enseignaient alors à Bagdâdh.

Esprit ouvert et curieux, Ibn Khâlawaihi ne voulut négliger aucune branche des sciences musulmanes. Il n'eut que l'embarras du choix parmi les professeurs éminents qu'attirait encore, comme par un souvenir du passé, la capitale du khalifat Abbaside. Al-Mouktadir Billâh, qui détenait alors un pouvoir chancelant dans ses mains, restait indifférent sans hostilité au mouvement que son fils Ar-Râdî devait être le dernier parmi les khalifes à favoriser en s'y associant.³ Les savants illustres qui présidèrent à l'instruction d'un élève tel qu'Ibn Khâlawaihi furent, pour le Coran Aḥmad ibn Moûsâ Ibn Moudjâhid al-Moukri, et Aboû Sa'îd Al-Ḥasan As-Sîrâfî, pour la grammaire et les belles-lettres Aboû Bakr Ibn Doraid, Niṭṭawaihi, Aboû Bakr Moḥammad Ibn al-Anbârî, et Aboû 'Omar Az-Zâhid, pour les traditions Aboû 'Abd Allâh Moḥammad ibn Makhlad ibn Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭâr ad-Doûrî⁴ et d'autres dont les noms ne nous ont pas été conservés. Il fut initié et gagné à la doctrine Schâfi'ite en lisant à haute voix le fameux Abrégé d'Al-Mouzanî sous la direction d'Aboû 'Alî Al-Ḥousain ibn 'Alî aṣ-Ṣâ'ig de Nisâboûr, un chef d'école qui voyageait de ville en ville pour faire une propagande active et pour gagner des prosélytes.⁵

Ibn Khâlawaihi devint de bonne heure une autorité reconnue en matière de traditions. Ce fut le sujet d'un cours très suivi qu'il ouvrit dans les dépendances attenantes à la mosquée Rouṣâfa de Bagdâdh⁶. Ses leçons eurent l'honneur d'être transcrites et publiées par son contemporain, Aboû 'I-Faradj Al-Mou'âfâ ibn Zakariyâ an-Nahrawânî, qui fut pendant quelque temps kâfî du quar-

¹ Vers d'Ibn Khâlawaihi cités par Ath-Tha'libî, *Yatîmat ad-dahr fi schou'arâ al-'asr*, encyclopédie de la poésie arabe au quatrième siècle de l'hégire (édition de Damas), I., p. 78. Hammer, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, V., p. 444, a traduit d'autres vers d'Ibn Khâlawaihi sur le même sujet, d'après le *Rabî' al-abrâr* d'Az-Zamakhsharî.

² Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, p. 601-606.

³ As-Soyoûṭî, *Classes des grammairiens*, manuscrit de Paris, supplément arabe 683, fol. 118 v°; manuscrit du Musée Britannique Or. 111, fol. 200 r°; Hammer, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, V., p. 442; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 230.

⁴ Ibn At-Tikṭakâ, *Al-Fakhrî*, p. 323, énumère nombre de choses où Ar-Râdî termine la série des khalifes Abbasides qui les ont faites.

⁵ Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 230, a imprimé, pour la mort d'al-'Aṭṭâr, 301 an lieu de 331. La vraie date est donnée par Adh-Dhahabî, *Liber classium* (éd. Wüstenfeld), II., p. 89.

⁶ F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfi'î* (Göttingen, 1890-1891), p. 155 et 178.

⁷ Le texte d'As-Soyoûṭî, donné par Flügel, *ibid.*, loc. cit., porte بجامع المدينة qu'il a traduit "dans la mosquée du vendredi de Médine." J'ai supposé que المدينة est ici une formule abrégée pour مدينة السلام "la Ville de la paix" l'un des noms de Bagdâdh.

tier *Bāb at-tāḥ* à Bagdādh.¹ Le célèbre ḥāfiṣh Aboū 'Amr 'Othmān ibn Sa'id ad-Dānī qui naquit à Cordoue en 371 de l'hégire (981-982 de notre ère), une année après la mort d'Ibn Khālawaihi, rapporte que celui-ci était allégué comme un garant sûr des traditions authentiques, entre autres par deux de ses maîtres 'Abd al-Moun'im ibn 'Abd Allāh (peut-être 'Oubaid Allāh) Ibn Galboūn d' Alep,² et Al-Ḥasan ibn Soulaīmān.

Mais, pour justifié que fût le renom d' Ibn Khālawaihi vu la sûreté de ses informations sur les paroles attribuées au Prophète, c'est à un autre ordre de recherches qu'il doit d'occuper une place éminente dans la littérature arabe. Ibn Khālawaihi s'est jeté avec passion dans le conflit qui avait éclaté à Bagdādh entre les deux écoles de grammairiens qui s'y disputaient la suprématie : les partisans rigoureux du vieil arabe qui voulaient le préserver de toute atteinte, comme leurs précurseurs de Baṣra, n'admettant aucune transaction et opposant au flot montant de l'arabe vulgaire leur opposition impassible dans laquelle ils préféreraient d'être engloutis que de céder un pouce de terrain ; d'un autre côté les disciples de Koufa, poussant la tolérance jusqu'à la capitulation, admettant et expliquant les modifications du langage, tournés vers l'avenir plutôt que vers le passé, acceptant avec trop d'indulgence leur défaite sans combat. Ibn Khālawaihi fut un des premiers à comprendre que l'intransigeance des uns présentait pour la pureté de la langue ainsi envahie par des éléments corrupteurs autant de dangers que la complicité des autres. Il ne s'affilia à aucun des deux partis et chercha à tenir la balance entre la timidité des arriérés et les hardiesses des novateurs.³ Ses tendances le rendirent suspect surtout aux conservateurs, et un des plus célèbres d'entre eux, un élève fidèle d'Al-Moubarrad, Aboū Moḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Douroustawaihi (ou, selon la prononciation persane Ibn Douroustotūya), le réfuta dans l'ensemble et dans les détails de sa doctrine linguistique.⁴

En quelle année Ibn Khālawaihi émigra-t-il de Bagdādh à Alep? L'attaque d'Ibn Douroustawaihi qui mourut à Bagdādh en ṣafar 347* (mai 958) eut-elle quelque influence sur les résolutions d'Ibn Khālawaihi? Sans pouvoir fixer de date précise, nous savons qu' Ibn Khālawaihi s'installa dans Alep sous le premier de ses princes Ḥamdānites, Saif ad-Daula 'Alī ibn Abī 'l-Haidjā 'Abd Allāh. Or celui-ci ne conquist définitivement Alep qu'en rabī second 336 (octobre 947) pour y régner jusqu' à sa mort en ṣafar 356* (février 967). Au milieu des guerres et

¹ Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, III., p. 374-376.

² Sur Ad-Dānī, qui vécut à Dāniya en Espagne et y mourut en 444 de l'hégire (1052 de notre ère), voir Adh-Dhahabī, *Libar classium* (éd. Wüstenfeld), III., p. 17-18; Al-Maḡḡarī, *Analcetes pour servir à l'histoire d'Espagne*, I., pp. 550-551; Stane dans Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, III., p. 433. Ce fut sans doute à Miṣr qu'il reçut les leçons d'Ibn Galboūn; voir F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām el-Schāfi'ī*, p. 200.

³ Ibn Abī Ya'qoūb An-Nadīm, *Kutāb al-fihrist*, p. 84.

⁴ Id., *ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵ Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, II., p. 24.

⁶ Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, II., p. 334-338; Freytag, *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, p. XIV., et *Geschichte der Hamdaniden*, dans la *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft*, XI., p. 177 et 214.

dans ses expéditions, Saïf ad-Daula, poète lui-même, aimait à s'entourer de poètes et de littérateurs.¹ Lorsqu'il rentrait dans sa capitale, c'était pour y rencontrer les hommes de talent et de mérite qu'il y avait conviés. Il aspirait à en faire le centre d'où les beaux vers et la prose classique se propageraient en Syrie. Ibn Khâlawaihi se laissa attirer sans résistance à cette cour, où l'on se piquait de langage élégant, où les faveurs étaient réservées aux artistes maniant avec le plus d'habileté l'instrument fatigué de l'arabe littéral, aux érudits qui étudiaient les phénomènes de sa vie menacée.

Ce fut doute peu d'années après son avènement que Saïf ad-Daula s'assura le concours de ce conseiller littéraire, dont il se constitua l'élève,² qui lui révéla les secrets de la synonymique et du vocabulaire. Ibn Khâlawaihi ne quitta plus Alep, où il était considéré comme un maître, où l'on se rendait de toutes les contrées pour lui demander des avis et des enseignements.³

Certain jour, Ibn Khâlawaihi subit la visite d'un obstiné qui étudiait la grammaire depuis cinquante années et qui sollicitait son appui, n'ayant jamais réussi à faire redresser les incorrections de son langage. Cet homme réputé incurable fut guéri par les soins d'Ibn Khâlawaihi.⁴

Une anecdote curieuse montre combien Ibn Khâlawaihi devenait intraitable jusqu'à la violence, si l'on s'attaquait à ses convictions linguistiques.⁵ Lorsque Saïf ad-Daula résidait dans sa capitale, il présidait tous les soirs des assemblées de poètes et de savants qui, en sa présence, engageaient des controverses. En 346 de l'hégire⁶ (957-958 de notre ère), à l'une de ces réunions quotidiennes, une discussion s'engagea entre le célèbre poète Al-Moutanabbi' et Ibn Khâlawaihi. Al-Moutanabbi' a eu le privilège des haines implacables et des jalousies acerbes. La critique arabe a été impitoyable pour son œuvre.⁷ Ibn Khâlawaihi se laissa emporter par sa mauvaise humeur à se servir contre son adversaire d'une autre arme que le *kalâm*. Saisissant une clef qu'il avait apportée, il s'élança sur lui, le frappa au visage, et lui infligea une blessure d'où le sang jaillit à flots sur les vêtements. Al-Moutanabbi', pour éviter le retour de pareils incidents, quitta sans tarder Alep pour se rendre à Miṣr.⁸

¹ Ath-Tha'libi, *Yatîmat ad-dahr* (édition de Damas), I., p. 8-22, et dans Dieterici, *Mutanabbi und Setfuddaula* (Leipzig, 1847), p. 81-176; Hammer, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, V., p. 48-49.

² Ath-Tha'libi, *Yatîmat ad-dahr*, I., p. 76; Freytag, loc. cit., XI., p. 214.

³ Id., loc. cit.; As-Soyoufi, *Classes des grammairiens*, loc. cit.

⁴ As-Soyoufi, en racontant cette anecdote, ne dit point que la cure ait réussi; il se contente de narrer la maladie ainsi que la consultation. Mais le souvenir de cet infirme ne se serait pas conservé, si Ibn Khâlawaihi ne l'avait pas guéri de son infirmité.

⁵ Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I., p. 106.

⁶ J'emprunte la date à Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfi'*, p. 178.

⁷ Dieterici, *Mutanabbi und Setfuddaula*, pp. 27-62, d'après Ath-Tha'libi, *Yatîmat ad-dahr*; Yoûsouf Al-Badi', *As-Souh al-mandî fî haithiyat Al-Moutanabbi*, manuscrit 1491 de notre supplément arabe, signalé par Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, p. 476; Ibn Tagribardî, *Annales*, II., p. 370; Ibn Khaldoun, *Prologomènes* (traduction Slane), III., p. 580 et 585; Hâdjî Khalîfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, III., pp. 307-310; Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, III., p. 28; *Mutanabbi Carmina* édité Dieterici (Berolin, 1861), p. VIII; Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, I., pp. 190-191.

⁸ Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I., p. 104.

De telles incartades ne troublaient pas ordinairement le calme de ces réunions paisibles. Voici le récit qu'Ibn Khâlawaihi lui-même donne d'une séance moins agitée: "Un soir Saïf ad-Daula demanda aux assistants qui étaient nombreux si l'un d'eux connaissait des noms *mamdoûd* dont le pluriel fût *maksoûr*.¹ Ils répondirent à l'unanimité: Non.—Saïf ad-Daula reprit: Ô Ibn Khâlawaihi, que dis-tu, toi?—Je m'écriai: Moi, je connais deux noms.—Quels sont-ils? interrogea le prince.—Je répliquai: Je ne les divulguerai que contre mille dirhems, pour qu'ils ne deviennent pas la propriété d'ingrats. Ce sont, dis-je ensuite, *ṣaḥrâ'ou*, pluriel *ṣaḥârâ*, et *'adhâ'ou*, pluriel *'adhârâ*. Un mois plus tard, je rencontrai deux autres mots qu'a mentionnés Al-Djarmî dans son livre intitulé *At-tanbîh* (l'Avertissement): ce sont *ṣalfâ'ou* "terre stérile," pluriel *ṣalfâ*, et *khabrâ'ou* "terre où il y a un abreuvoir," pluriel *khabârâ*. Vingt ans plus tard, je découvris un cinquième mot qu' Ibn Doraïd a cité dans sa *Djamhara*: *sabtâ'ou* "terre dure," pluriel *sabâtâ*.²

Ibn Khâlawaihi était encore un notable d'Alep lorsqu'il découvrit ce cinquième mot. En effet il y resta jusqu'à sa mort. Le fils et successeur de Saïf ad-Daula, Sa'd ad-Daula Aboû 'l-Ma'âlî Scharîf le revendiqua comme une part de l'héritage paternel. Ibn Khâlawaihi continua d'enseigner et d'écrire des livres à Alep jusqu'au jour où il y expira en 370 de l'hégire³ (980-981 de notre ère).

Voici une liste à peu près complète de ses ouvrages :

1° كتاب الاشتقاق "Livre de l'étymologie."

2° الجمل في النحو "Les Propositions essentielles de la syntaxe."⁴

¹ "Diotées" (*Amâlî*) d'Ibn Khâlawaihi, relevées dans l'Histoire d'Alep en dix volumes de Kâmil ad-Dîn Ibn Al-Adîm par As-Soyoufi, *Classes des grammairiens*, loc. cit.

² Un mot arabe est dit *mamdoûd* "allongé" lorsqu'il se termine par un *fatḥa* long (â) suivi d'un *hamza*; *maksoûr* "abrégé" lorsqu'il ressemble au *mamdoûd*, mais sans *hamza* final. Nous citerons sous le N°. 8 une monographie d'Ibn Khâlawaihi sur ces formations.

³ On verra plus loin, au chapitre soixante-six de ce traité, qu' Ibn Khâlawaihi était arrivé plus tard à réunir jusqu'à huit exemples, qu'il a généreusement énumérés, sans les vendre cher comme les deux premiers. Les deux autorités d'Ibn Khâlawaihi sont: 1° Aboû 'Omar Ṣâliḥ Al-Djarmî, un fin connaisseur et un chaud admirateur de Sibawaihi, mort en 225 de l'hégire (839-840 de notre ère); 2° le célèbre philologue Ibn Doraïd, c'est-à-dire Aboû Bakr Moḥammad ibn Al-Ḥasan, mort en 321 de l'hégire (938 de notre ère); voir plus bas, sous le N°. 7. La **جبهة في اللغة**

est le dictionnaire composé par Ibn Doraïd (Ḥādîj Khalîfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, N°. 4202). Le Bibliothèque nationale de Paris en possède la seconde moitié dans un excellent exemplaire, sous le cote 1384 du supplément arabe; voir aussi 1323 de l'ancien fonds.

⁴ Ibn Abî Ya'qûb An-Nadîm, *Kutûb al-fihrist*, p. 84; Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I., p. 453; As-Soyoufi, *Classes des grammairiens*, loc. cit.; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 230; Wüstenfeld, *Der Imâm el-Schâfi'î*, p. 178.

⁵ Même titre que celui de l'ouvrage d'Ibn Doraïd, publié par Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854) sous le titre de *Genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch*; Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I., p. 457; As-Soyoufi, *Classes des grammairiens* (mss. cités), loc. cit.; Ḥādîj Khalîfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, N°. 9643. Je suis dans cette énumération l'ordre adopté par Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 231. Les onze premiers titres, à l'exception du 7°, sont donnés par Ibn Abî Ya'qûb An-Nadîm, *Kutûb al-fihrist*, p. 84, le sixième y étant aussi mentionné séparément p. 35.

⁶ Ibn Khallikân, loc. cit.; As-Soyoufi, loc. cit.; Ḥādîj Khalîfa, N°. 4194.

3° كتاب اطرغش "Livre sur le verbe اطرغش," qui signifie relever de maladie.¹

4° كتاب القراءات السبع "Livre des sept lectures du Coran."²

5° كتاب المبتدئ "Livre du commençant."

6° كتاب إعراب ثلثين سورة من القرآن "Livre intitulé: Règle des flexions finales dans trente chapitres du Coran." Il s'agit des vingt-neuf dernières sôûrates, plus la première, la *fâtiha* étudiée par le menu, chaque mot étant l'objet d'un examen spécial quant à son sens primitif et à ses diverses acceptions.³

7° شرح الدريدية "Commentaire sur le poème d'Ibn Doraid," poème intitulé la *makṣûra* en raison de sa rime en â.⁴

8° كتاب المقصور والممدود "Le Livre de l'*alif* de prolongation non suivi ou suivi du *hamza*."⁵

9° كتاب الألفات "Le Livre des divers *alif*."

10° كتاب المذكر والمؤنث "Le Livre du masculin et du féminin."⁶

11° كتاب ليس "Le Livre intitulé: Il n'y a pas." C'est le traité consacré aux exceptions de la langue arabe que je publie.

12° البديع في القراءات السبع "L'Original relatif aux sept lectures du Coran." Nous avons déjà rencontré un titre analogue sous le N°. 4. L'Original n'en est pas une seconde édition, mais me paraît bien plutôt être le commentaire qu' Ibn Khâlawaihi composa sur le كتاب السبعة de son maître Ibn Moudjâhid.⁸

¹ As-Soyoûti, loc. cit.

² Ibn Khalikân, loc. cit.; As-Soyoûti, loc. cit.; Hâdji Khalifa, N°. 10387.

³ Ibn Khalikân, loc. cit., où le texte porte: كتاب إعراب ثلثين سورة من الكتاب العزيز (édition de Slane, p. 233, l. 12), c'est-à-dire "Règle des flexions finales dans trente chapitres du Livre précieux." Je ne sais comment M. de Slane a été amené à parler, dans sa traduction anglaise, du *Kitâb al-'Asîs* comme d'un ouvrage d'Ibn Khâlawaihi, qui aurait été omis par Hâdji Khalifa. C'est d'après le bibliographe turc (*Lexicon bibliographicum*, I, p. 366-367) que nous avons indiqué le contenu de ce traité. Ce traité, mentionné aussi par As-Soyoûti, loc. cit., existe au Musée Britannique, où il est coté Addimenta 9480.

⁴ Sur cette poésie relative à Ibn Mikâl et à son fils, aussi qu' à la ville de Basra, voir Hâdji Khalifa, N°. 12807, et l'édition du texte par L. N. Bolsen (Haunise, 1883). Le commentaire étendu d'Ibn Khâlawaihi est au moins en deux exemplaires à la Bibliothèque royale de Berlin; voir Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, p. 23. Sur l'exemplaire de Leyde, voir Dozy, *Catalogus*, II, p. 47, le commentaire était connu d'As-Soyoûti.

⁵ Ibn Khalikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I, p. 457; As-Soyoûti, *Classes des grammairiens*, loc. cit.; Hâdji Khalifa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, N°. 10519.

⁶ Ibn Khalikân et As-Soyoûti, loc. cit.; Hâdji Khalifa, N°. 10475.

⁷ Ibn Khalikân et As-Soyoûti, loc. cit.; Hâdji Khalifa, N°. 10443.

⁸ Ibn Khalikân et As-Soyoûti, loc. cit.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurans*, p. 298; Hâdji Khalifa, sous le N°. 10174, dit avoir possédé un commentaire d'Ibn Khâlawaihi sur le كتاب السبعة "Livre des sept recensions" par Ibn Moudjâhid. Fîfîgel a mentionné à part, sous le N°. 12, le commentaire en le distinguant de l'original.

13° Compléments aux 380 paradigmes des formes nominales énumérés dans le Livre de Sibawaihi.¹

14° أسماء الأسد "Les noms du lion." Ibn Khâlawaihi n'en compte pas moins de cinq cents.²

15° الزنجيل المدور "Le panier arrondi,"³ sans doute un recueil de conseils et de préceptes, comme les autres ouvrages portant le même titre.

16° شرح قصيدة نفطويه في غريب اللغة "Commentaire sur le Poème de Niftawaihi relatif aux étrangetés du langage." Ibn Khâlawaihi a fait la remarque que le grammairien surnommé Niftawaihi (le napté) est le seul savant qui se soit appelé Aboû 'Abd Allâh Ibrâhîm.⁴ Ce "fils de Sibawaihi," comme il a été désigné à cause de sa soumission absolue aux doctrines du Livre, était né à Wâsiṭ en 244 de l'hégire (858 de notre ère) et mourut à Bagdâdh le six safar 323 (quinze janvier 935). Ibn Khâlawaihi l'y avait sans doute connu personnellement et avait été ainsi amené à commenter son poème lexicographique.⁵

17° كتاب آلل "Livre intitulé: La famille du Prophète." Cette monographie est divisée en vingt-cinq sections. L'auteur n'y a rien omis d'important et s'y est occupé des douze imâms en donnant les dates de leurs naissances et de leurs morts, en mentionnant leurs mères. Ce qui l'a poussé à les comprendre dans son exposé, c'est, ainsi qu'il l'a dit lui-même, que parmi les sections de la Famille, de la famille de Moḥammad, sont les Hâschimites.⁶

18° كتاب الألقاب "Traité des surnoms honorifiques." Le titre dit suffisamment le sujet de ce manuel, sur lequel nous ne sommes pas autrement renseignés.⁷

19° كتاب العشرات "Livre des dix."⁸ Sont-ce les dizains du Coran, espèce de strophes composées chacune de dix versets, s'agit-il des objets généralement groupés au nombre de dix? Je l'ignore; en tout cas, ce n'est pas un traité d'arithmétique sur les dizaines.

¹ Le traité d'Ibn Khâlawaihi était sans doute dans le genre des additions d'Aboû Bakr Az-Zoubaidî, intitulées *Kitâb al-istâ'ârâ*, que M. I. Guidi a publiées (Rome, 1890). Hâdjî Khalifa, sous le N°. 31, a donné un jugement d'Ibn Al-Kaṭṭâ, philologue égyptien du onzième siècle, qui considère les additions d'Ibn Khâlawaihi comme peu nombreuses et mal ordonnées.

² Ibn Khallikân, loc. cit.; Hâdjî Khalifa, Nos. 636 et 9320; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedantsche Studien*, I., p. 215.

³ Hâdjî Khalifa, No. 6354.

⁴ Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I., p. 27.

⁵ Hâdjî Khalifa, No. 9489; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 213-215.

⁶ Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, I., p. 457, où je ne sais quel "mirage" a troublé le traducteur dans sa marche d'ordinaire si assurée; Hâdjî Khalifa, No. 9338.

⁷ Hâdjî Khalifa, No. 9996. On peut se rendre compte de la manière dont les Arabes envisageaient un tel sujet en lisant les chapitres II et III d'Ath-Tha'âlibî, *Latâ'if al-ma'ârif*, p. 17-43 dans l'édition P. de Jong (Leyde, 1876).

⁸ Hâdjî Khalifa, No. 10310.

20° Commentaire sur le كتاب المقصور والمدود " Livre de l' alif de prolongation, non suivi ou suivi du *hamza* " (cf. 8°), par Aboû l'-Abbâs Aḥmad ibn Moḥammad Ibn Wallâd Al-Mouhallabî. L'auteur du livre commenté avait classé sa nomenclature d'après l'ordre alphabétique. Il mourut en 332 de l'hégire¹ (943 de notre ère) avant qu' Ibn Khâlawaihi n'eût quitté Bagdâdh.

II

Le plupart des oeuvres d'Ibn Khâlawaihi ne sont point parvenues jusqu' à nous. Si j'excepte l'Espagne fidèle aux traditions classiques, la vogue s'est portée de plus en plus vers les écrits modernes accomodés au goût du jour et les anciens ont été délaissés, sans souci des originaux, sans ardeur à exécuter et à répandre des copies, sans espoir de leur trouver une clientèle d'acheteurs et de lecteurs. Une copie d'un vieux livre, qui surnage dans cette ruine du passé, reste forcément une épave isolée, sans qu'on ait chance d'en rencontrer le pendant, à moins d'un miracle inespéré. Il ne s'est point produit pour le Manuel des exceptions d'Ibn Khâlawaihi, et j'ai dû me résigner à publier cette édition d'après le manuscrit, excellent d'ailleurs, mais sans exemplaire parallèle pour le contrôler, du Musée Britannique.

Cette belle copie a été acquise en 1825. Elle est alors entrée au Musée Britannique, avec tout la fonds provenant de la précieuse collection de manuscrits formée par Claudius James Rich, qui représenta l'Angleterre à Bagdâdh de 1803 à 1820 et qui mourut en 1821. Cette partie de son héritage fut cédée au gouvernement anglais.² Le volume, coté Additamenta 7516, a été décrit sous le numéro DXXXVI dans la partie du catalogue imprimé rédigée par William Cureton.³

Les dix-huit premiers feuillets de ce manuscrit, qui mesure 26 centimètres en hauteur sur 18 en largeur, sont occupés par un opusculé de Koutroub, intitulé les Temps et consacré à la terminologie du ciel, du soleil, de la lune, des étoiles, de la nuit, du jour et des heures. C'est au feuillet 19^o que commence, écrit de la même main, l'ouvrage dont il a été parlé précédemment sous le numéro 11, avec le titre significatif que je transcris après Cureton: كتاب ليس في كلام العرب

ما يجري مجراه تصنيف ابي عبد الله الحسين بن احمد بن خالوية النحوي " Livre de ce qui n'est pas conforme à l'analogie dans le langage des Arabes, oeuvre d' Aboû 'Abd Allâh Al-Housain ibn Aḥmad Ibn Khâloutya le grammairien." Ce titre occupe la page entière, le texte commençant au haut de la page 19 v^o. A la lecture Ibn Khâloutya, au lieu de la prononciation pré-

¹ Ibn Abî Ya'koûb An-Nadîm, *Kutâb al-fihrist*, p. 84; Hâdjî Khalîfa, No. 10518; Fîdgel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 233.

² *Fundgruben des Orients*, III., p. 328; IV., pp. 111, 238, 455; C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III., p. VII.

³ *Catalogue codicum manuseriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*. Pars secunda, codices arabicos amplectens, p. 246.

conisée par les philologues Arabes Ibn Khâlawaihi, on reconnaît immédiatement une main persane qui, pour accentuer sa résistance, a transformé le *hâ* final par l'addition de deux points diacritiques.

Cette présomption est confirmée par la souscription, donnée aussi avant moi par W. Cureton: *تم الكتاب والحمد لله وحده وقد وقع الفراغ منه يوم*

الجمعة حادى عشر شهر شوال سنة اربع وسبع مائة فى دمشق بالشام

فى مدرسة النورية كتبه مأمون بن محمد العجمى الاسطهبانى

“ Le livre est terminé, louange à Allâh l'unique ! Et nous avons achevé cette copie le vendredi, onze du mois de schawwâl, en l'an 704 (sept mai 1305) à Damas de Syrie, dans le Collège An-Noûriyya. Ecrit de la main de Ma'moûn ibn Moḥammad le Persan Al-Isṭahabânî.”

Après cette description diplomatique du volume, j'aurais à parler du contenu et à dire d'avance ce qu'on trouvera dans le traité d'Ibn Khâlawaihi. C'est l'usage d'annoncer ainsi le sujet du livre et la méthode de l'auteur, lorsque la publication est faite d'un seul coup, ce qui permet d'embrasser d'un coup d'oeil rapide l'ensemble. La situation est bien différente pour un ouvrage présenté au lecteur par tranches qu'on a eu soin de découper en morceaux assez menus pour qu'il puisse les digérer facilement. Il nous a fallu, dans cette répartition, tenir compte de ceux qui cherchent dans les *Hebraica* d'autres langues sémitiques que l'arabe. Cette synthèse se dégagera d'ailleurs, comme une conclusion naturelle, de ces petits chapitres analytiques, tous conçus dans le même esprit, rédigés dans une forme identique, bâtis symétriquement sur un modèle semblable, réunissant des séries d'exemples parmi les raretés constatées du vocabulaire arabe. Saïf ad-Daula, le fondateur de la dynastie Hamdânite d'Alep, s'il vivait encore au moment où le traité fut achevé, dut applaudir à cet amas de matériaux riches et bien classés, dont une partie avait été divulguée au cours des séances littéraires qu'il avait encouragées et présidées.¹ Je crois que le Manuel des exceptions d'Ibn Khâlawaihi intéressera même nos philologues d'aujourd'hui et qu'ils m'approuveront de leur en avoir donné une édition critique.

Paris, ce 17 juin 1892.

¹ Plus haut, p. 4.

كتاب

ليس في كلام العرب ما يَتَجَرَّى مَجْرَاهُ

تصنيف

أبي عبد الله الحسين بن

أحمد بن خالوية النحوي

رحمه الله *

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله موجد الخلق ومبدئه ومُبقيه ما شاء ومُفنيه ، وصلى الله
على محمد وأتريبه ، قال ابن خالوية قولي ليس في كلام العرب أنها
هو على ما أحاط به حفظي وفوق كل ذي علم عليم¹

١ باب فَعَلَ يَفْعَلُ مما ليس فيه حرف الخلق ليس في كلام
العرب فَعَلَ يَفْعَلُ مما ليس فيه حرف الخلق عيناً ولا لاماً إلا عشرة
أحرف أبى يَأْبَى وقلَى يَقْلَى وجبى يَجْبَى جَمَعَ الباء في الحوض
وسلاً يَسْلَى وخطاً يَخْطَى إذا سَمِنَ من قولهم لَحْمُهُ خَطّاً بَطّاً
كَطّاً وَعَصَصَتْ تَعَصَّ وَنَضَضَتْ تَنْضُ وَقَنَطَ يَقْنَطُ وَعَسَا اللَّيْلُ يَغْسَى
إذا أَظْلَمَ وَرَكَنَ يَرْكُنُ ولم يَحْكُ سيبويه إلا حرفاً واحداً أبى يَأْبَى
لأنه بلا خلافٍ والبرأى مُخْتَلَفٌ فيها

¹ Coran, XII., 76.

* Ms. يَخْطَا .

* Ms. يَغْسَا .

٢ باب ما أَظْهَرَ مِنَ الواو والياء والاول ساكنٌ ليس في كلام العرب واوٌ وياءٌ يَجْتَمِعَانِ والاول ساكنٌ في غير التصغير والمُكَنَّيْنَ من الهمزة الا مُدْغَمًا نَحَوَ قولهم يَوْمَ وَاَيَّامُ والاصل اَيَّوَامٌ وَكَوَيِّتُ الدَّابَّةَ كَيًّا والاصل كَوِيًّا الا اربعة احرف حَيَّوَانٌ قَبِيلَةٌ وَحَيَوَةٌ اسمُ رجلٍ وَعَوَى الكَلْبُ عَوِيَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَصَيَّوْنَ وهو الخَيْطَلُ ذَكَرُ السَّنَانِيرِ فَاَمَّا اُسَيُّوْدٌ في تصغير اُسُوْدَ فَانَّه يَطْرُدُ في نظيره لَعَلَّةٌ وَكَذَلِكَ رُوِيَا اِذَا لَبِنْتَ الهمَزَ ومثله رُوِيَةٌ

٣ باب ما جاء على فَعَلَ يَقَعُلُ فِعْلًا ليس في كلام العرب فَعَلَ يَقَعُلُ فِعْلًا الا سَكَرَ يَسْكَرُ سِكْرًا وَالسَّيْخَرُ يكون حَلَالًا وَحَرَامًا يقال فلانٌ سَاحِرُ الْعَيْنَيْنِ اى فْتَانٌ وَفَلَانٌ يَسْكَرُ النَّاسُ بِطَرْفِهِ وَالسَّاحِرُ الْعَالَمُ الْفَهْمُ قال الله تعالى يَا أَيُّهَا السَّاحِرُ ادْعُ لَنَا رَبَّكَ يعنى العالم الْفَهْمُ

٤ باب ما جاء على فِعَالٍ ليس في كلام العرب اسمٌ على فِعَالٍ ليس بمصدرٍ الا كلمةً واحدةً وهى قولهم اَدْخَلَ الْفِعَالُ فِي خُرْتِ الْحَدَثَانِ وَالْحَدَثَانِ فَاسٌ لَهَا رَأْسٌ وَاحِدٌ وَالْفِعَالُ خَشَبَةُ الْفَاسِ فَاَمَّا الْمَصَادِرُ فَاِنَّمَا تَطْرُدُ على الْفِعَالِ في باب فَاعَلَ نَحَوُ ضَارَبَ ضِرَابًا وَمُضَارَبَةً

ه باب ما جاء على أَفَعَلْتُ من صَرَفَ ليس في كلام العرب
أَصْرَفْتُ إِلَّا في موضع واحد وهو قولك أَصْرَفْتُ الْقَوَائِي إِذَا أَتَوَيْتَهَا
وَيُنْشَدُ لَجَرِيرٍ

قَصَائِدُ غَيْرُ مُصْرَفَةِ الْقَوَائِي فَلَا عِيًّا بِهِنَّ وَلَا أَجْتِلَابًا
فَإِنَّمَا سَاطِرُ الْكَلَامِ فَصَرَفْتُ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى ثُمَّ أَنْصَرَفُوا صَرَفَ اللَّهُ
قُلُوبَهُمْ وَصَرَفَ نَابُ الْبُعِيرِ وَالْجَمْدِ وَيَصْرِفُ نَابُهُ نَشَاطًا وَصَرَفَتْ
النَّاقَةُ^٢ كَلَالًا وَإِعْيَاءً

٤ باب ما جاء من المصدر للمرة غير مفتوح ليس في كلام
العرب المصدر للمرة الواحدة إِلَّا على فَعْلَةٍ نَحْوُ سَجَدْتُ سَجْدَةً
وَاحِدَةً وَقُمْتُ قَوْمَةً وَاحِدَةً إِلَّا حَرْفَيْنِ حَجَجْتُ حِجَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَرَأَيْتُهُ
رُؤْيَةً وَاحِدَةً بِالضَّمِّ وَسَاطِرُ الْكَلَامِ بِالْفَتْحِ فَإِنَّمَا الْحَالُ فَمَكْسُورٌ لَا غَيْرُ
مَا أَحْسَنَ عِمَّتَهُ وَرُكِبَتَهُ وَحَدَّثَنِي أَبُو عَمَرَ عَنْ ابْنِ الْأَعْرَابِيِّ رَأَيْتُهُ رَأْيَةً
وَاحِدَةً بِالْفَتْحِ فَهَذَا عَلَى أَصْلِ مَا يَجِبُ

٧ باب ما جاء من أَبْنَيْتُهُمْ عَلَى ثَلَاثَةِ أَحْرَفٍ مِنْ جَنْسٍ وَاحِدٍ
ليس في كلام العرب كلمةٌ تَامَةٌ حُرُوفُهَا كُلُّهَا مِنْ جَنْسٍ وَاحِدٍ
اسْتِثْقَالًا إِلَّا حَرْفَيْنِ غُلَامٌ بَبَّةٌ أَيْ سَمِينٌ وَأَنْشَدَ
لَأُنَيْكَحَنَّ بَبَّةً جَارِيَةً خِدْبَةً تَبْدُ أَهْلَ الْكَعْبَةِ

1 Coran, IX., 128.

2 Après نشاطا, ms.

والحرف الثاني قول عمر بن ابي الخطاب لئن بقيت الى قابلٍ لأَجْعَلَنَّ
الناسَ بَبَانًا^١ واحداً اى أُسارى بينهم فى الرزق والأعطيات

٨ باب ما جاء على فَعَلْ يَفْعُلْ مِمَّا فَاوَهُ وَاوُ ليس فى كلام
العرب فَعَلْ يَفْعُلْ مِمَّا فَاوَهُ وَاوُ الا حرف واحدٌ ذَكَرَهُ سيبويه وهو
وَجَدَ يَجْدُ قال جريرٌ

لو شئتِ قد تَقَعُ الْفَوَادُ بِشَرِّ بِهِ تَدَعُ الصَّوَادِى لَا يَجْدُنَ غَلِيلًا
فقال وَجَدَ يَجْدُ وهو وَجَدَ يَجْدُ وقياسه أَنْ يَحْجَى على يَفْعُلْ مثْلُ وَزَنَ
يَزَنُ وَوَعَدَ يَعِدُ

٩ باب ما سقطت فيه الواو فى يَفْعُلْ مِمَّا ليس فيه حرف الحلق
ليس فى كلام العرب وَاوُ وقعت بين ياء وفتحة وليس فيه حرف من
حروف الحلق فَسَقَطَتْ الا حرف واحدٌ وهو يَدُرُ والاصلُ يَوْدُرُ وقياس
الواو اذا وقعت بين ياء وفتحة أَنْ تَثْبُتَ مثْلُ يَوْحَدُ وَيَوْجَدُ فان
وقعت بين ياء وكسرة سقطت مثْلُ يَزَنُ وَيَعِدُ والاصلُ يَوَزَنُ وَيَوْعِدُ
وانما جاز ذلك لانهم بنوا يَدُرُ على يَدَعُ اذ كان لا يُنْطَقُ منهما
بَفَعَلَ ولا فاعِلٍ ولا مَفْعُولٍ ولا مصدرٍ فاعرف ذلك اِنْ شاء الله

١٠ باب ما جاء على فَعِلَ يَفْعِلُ من الصحيح نَعِمَ يَنْعِمُ
وَيَبْسُ يَبْسُ وَيَبْسُ يَبْسُ وقد يجوز فيهنَّ الفتحُ جُعَ فاما المفعَلُ

فِيحْيَىٰ كَثِيرًا نَّحَوَرَ وَرَيْثَ يُرْتُ وَوَرِمَ بَرِمَ وَوَمِقَ يَمِقَ وَوَمِقَ يَفِقَ
وَوَلِيَّ يَلِيَّ

مَعُونَةٍ وَمَالِكٌ جَمْعُ مَالِكَةٍ وَمَيْسَرٌ جَمْعُ مَيْسِرَةٍ وَجَدْتُ فِي الْقُرْآنِ حَرْفًا
فَرَأَى عَطَاءٌ فَتَنَظَّرَهُ إِلَى مَيْسِرَةِ الْهَاءِ هَاءُ كِنَايَةٍ

١٣ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ عَلَى أَفْعَلَ فَهُوَ مُفْعَلٌ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ
أَفْعَلَ فَهُوَ مُفْعَلٌ إِلَّا ثَلَاثَةَ أَحْرَفٍ أَحْصَنَ فَهُوَ مُتَحَصِّنٌ وَالْفَتْحُ فَهُوَ
مُتَفَجِّحٌ أَيْ أَفْلَسَ فِي الْحَدِيثِ إِرْحَمُوا مُتَفَجِّحِيكُمْ وَأَسْهَبَ فَهُوَ مُسْهَبٌ
بِالْغِ هَذَا قَوْلُ ابْنِ دُرَيْدٍ وَقَالَ ثَعْلَبٌ أَسْهَبَ فَهُوَ مُسْهَبٌ فِي الْكَلَامِ
وَأَسْهَبَ فَهُوَ مُسْهَبٌ إِذَا حَفَرَ بَثْرًا فَبَلَغَ الْمَاءُ وَوَجَدْتُ حَرْفًا
رَابِعًا رُبَاعِيًّا إِجْرَاشَتِ الْإِيْلُ فَهِيَ مُجْرَاشَةٌ بِفَتْحِ الْهَمزة إِذَا سَمِنَتْ
وَامْتَلَأَتْ بَطْنُهَا

١٤ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ عَلَى مُفْعُولٍ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ
اسْمٌ عَلَى مُفْعُولٍ إِلَّا مُعْرُودٌ وَهِيَ الْكَمَاةُ وَمُغْلُوفٌ شَجَرٌ وَمُنْخَوْرٌ لُغَةٌ
فِي الْبِنْخِرِ وَمُغْتَوْرٌ وَمُغْفَوْرٌ مِنَ الْمَغَافِيرِ صُعُورَةٌ مِثْلُ رَأْسِ الْجَبَلِ

١٥ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ مِنَ الْمَصْدَرِ عَلَى تَفَاعَلٍ وَتَفَاعِيلٍ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ
الْعَرَبِ مَصْدَرٌ تَفَاعَلَ إِلَّا عَلَى تَفَاعُلٍ بِضَمِّ الْعَيْنِ تَفَاعَلَتْ تَغَاوَلًا وَتَكَاثَّرَتْ
تَكَاثَرًا أَلْهَأَكُمُ التَّكَاثُرُ إِلَّا فِي حَرْفٍ وَاحِدٍ جَاءَ مَفْتُوحًا وَمَكْسُورًا
وَمَضْمُومًا قَالُوا تَفَاوَتْ الْأُمُورُ تَفَاوَتْ وَتَفَاوَتْ وَتَفَاوَتْ وَهَذَا غَرِيبٌ
مَلِيحٌ حَكَاهُ أَبُو زَيْدٍ

١٦ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ مِنَ الْمُضَاعَفِ مُظْهِرًا وَقِيَّاسُهُ الْإِدْغَامُ ليس في كلام العرب فُعِلٌ مِنَ الْمُضَاعَفِ لَمْ يُدْغَمْ وَظَهَرَ التَّضْعِيفُ فِيهِ إِلَّا قَوْلُهُمْ لِحَكَّتْ عَيْنُهُ وَضَبَّ الْبَلَدُ كَثُرَ ضِبَابُهُ وَارِضٌ مَضْبَةٌ بَفَتْحِ الْيَمِ وَارِضٌ مُضْبَةٌ بِضَمِّ الْيَمِ كَثُرَ ضِبَابُهَا وَالِدُ السِّقَاءِ أَنْتَنَ وَيَلَدَتْ أَسْنَانُهُ تَكَسَّرَتْ وَرَجُلٌ أَيْدٍ وَامْرَأَةٌ يَلَاءٍ وَالْجَمْعُ يُدُّ وَمَشَشَتِ الدَّابَّةُ

١٧ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ عَلَى أَفْعَلَ فَهُوَ فَاعِلٌ ليس في كلام العرب أَفْعَلَ فَهُوَ فَاعِلٌ إِلَّا أَغْشَبَتِ الْأَرْضُ فَهِيَ عَاشِبٌ وَأَوْرَسَ الرِّمْتُ فَهُوَ وَارِسٌ وَأَيْفَعَ الْغُلَامُ فَهُوَ يَائِفٌ وَأَبْقَلَتِ الْأَرْضُ فَهِيَ بَائِلٌ وَأَغْضَى الرَّجُلُ فَهُوَ غَاضٍ وَأَمْتَحَدَ الْبَلَدُ فَهُوَ مَاحِلٌ

١٨ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ عَلَى تَمَفَّعَلٍ ليس في كلام العرب تَمَفَّعَلٌ تَمَفَّعَلَهُ الرَّجُلُ إِنَّمَا هُوَ تَفَعَّلَ إِلَّا تَمَدَّرَمَ لَيْسَ الْمِدْرَعَةُ وَتَمَسَّكَنَ صَارَ مِسْكِينًا وَتَمَنَّدَلَ بِالْبِنْدِيلِ وَتَمَغْفَرَ وَتَمَغَّثَرَ مِنَ الْمَغَافِيرِ وَالْمَغَاثِيرِ وَتَمَنَطَقَ

١٩ بَابُ مَا جَاءَ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ مِدْودًا^١ وَجَمْعُهُ مِدْودٌ ليس في كلام العرب اسم مِدْودٌ وَجَمْعُهُ مِدْودٌ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ وَاحِدٌ وَهُوَ دَاءٌ وَأَدْوَاءٌ وَإِنَّمَا صَلَحَ أَنْ يَكُونَ مِدْودًا فِي اللَّفْظِ وَاصْلُهُ الْقَصْرُ لِأَنَّهُ فِي الْأَصْلِ دَوَى فَاثْقَلَتْ الْوَاوُ الْفَا لِتَحَرُّكِهَا وَانْفَتْحَ مَا قَبْلُهَا وَالْأَلِفُ مَتَّى أَتَى بَعْدَهَا حَرْفٌ لَيْنٌ هَمْزَوْهَ إِذَا كَانَتِ الْأَلِفُ زَائِدَةً كِكِسَاءٍ وَرِدَاءٍ فَشَبَّهَا

^١ Ma. sans مِدْودًا.

وتوَعَّها بعد الالف المنقلبة من حرفٍ أَصْلِيٍّ بالالف فقلبوا الياء ههزةً فصار داء

٢٠ بابُ ما جا من المصادر على عشرة أَلْفاظٍ ليس في كلام العرب مصدرٌ على عشرة أَلْفاظٍ إلا مصدر واحد وهو لَقِيتُ زيداً لِقَاءً وَلِقَاءَةً وَلُقِيَ وَلُقِيًّا وَلُقِيًّا وَلُقِيًّا وَلُقِيَّةً وَلُقِيَانًا وَلُقِيَانًا وَلُقِيَانَةً وَلَا يُقَالُ لِقَاءَةً فَالْقِيَتُهَا على قُرْمُوطةِ الْكَبَرْتَلِ^١ بحضرة سيف الدولة فلم يَدِرْ فَفَهَمْتُهُ لَأَنَّ الْمَرَّةَ تكون على فَعَلَةٍ ساكنة العين وَلِقَاءَةً فَعَلَةٌ فانقلبت الياء ألفاً فَأَعْرِفُ ذَلِكَ فَإِنَّهُ حَسَنٌ وقد جاء مصدران على سَبْعَةٍ سَبْعَةٍ وهما مَكَثَ مَكْثًا وَمَكَّنَا وَمُكَّنَا وَمُكُونًا وَمُكْنَانًا وَمِكَيْشَى مقصورٌ وَمِكَيْشَاءَ ممدودٌ وَمَكْنَنَةٌ والحرف الآخر تَمَّ الشئ تَمًّا وَتَمًّا وَتَمَامًا وَتَمَامَةً وَتَمَامًا وَتَمَمَّةً وَتَمَّةً وَلَيْلُ التَّامِ لا غيرُ

٢١ بابُ ما جاء من المصادر على فَعْلِيلٍ ليس في كلام العرب مصدرٌ على فَعْلِيلٍ إلا قَرَّرَ الْقُرْرَى قَرَرِيرًا لَأَنَّ فَعْلَلَ مصدره على ضربين فَعْلَلَ فَعْلَلَةً وَفَعْلَلًا قَرَّرَ قَرَرَةً وَقَرَّرَا وهذا جاء نادراً وَدَحْرَجَ دَحْرَجَةً وَدَحْرَجَا وأنشد

سَرَهَفْتُهُ مَا شَتَّ مِنْ سِرْهَافٍ

يُقَالُ سَرَهَفْتُهُ وَسَرَعَفْتُهُ وَسَرَهَفْتُهَا حَسَنْتُ غِذَاءَهُ وَاجاز البصريون أَن

^١ Ms.: الْكَبَرْتَلِ.

يجىء مصدر الرباعي بفتح أوله أيضا زَلَزَلَ زَلْزَلَةً وَزَلَزَالًا وَمَرَّ مَرَمَرِيًّا وَأَنْشَدَ [جز]

وطال في الجدء مَرَمَرِيَّهَا

الجدء ارض لا ماء بها وناقعة لا سنام لها وشاة لا لبن لها وكله من الجد وهو القطع

٣٢ باب ما جاء من المصدر على مفعول ليس في كلام العرب مصدر على مفعول الآ قولهم فلان لا مفعول له ولا مجلود اى لا عقْد ولا جلد

٣٣ باب ما جاء من المصدر على فيعولة ليس في كلام العرب مصدر على فيعولة الآ كان كَيْنُونَةً والاصل كَيْنُونَةٌ فُخِّفَ وصار صَيْرُورَةً وسار سَيْرُورَةً وحاد حَيْدُودَةً وطار طَيْرُورَةً قال الأخفش في إيضاح معنى بيت الشَّردل بن شريك الثعلبي من ثعلبة بن يربوع [طويل]

فما البعد الآ أننا بعد ضحية كأن لم نُبَايْتُ وائلاً ونُقَايِلُهُ قال الأخفش نُبَايْتُ من البَيْتُوتَةِ ونُقَايِلُهُ من الْقَيْلُولَةِ وهذه ألفاظ معدودة أسماء للمصادر ولا تُقَاسُ ولكننا نُودَى ما سبعا منها يقال باتَ بَيْتُوتَةً وَقَالَ قَيْلُولَةً من القائلة وكان كَيْنُونَةً وصار صَيْرُورَةً وغابت الشمس غَيْبُوبَةً وحادَ حَيْدُودَةً فهذا زيادة على ما ذكره صاحب الكتاب رآه لأنه قال ليس في كلام العرب على فيعولة الآ كان كَيْنُونَةً وبقية الباب وفيما ذكره الأخفش رآه زيادة ثلاث كلمات البَيْتُوتَةُ والقَيْلُولَةُ والغَيْبُوبَةُ

→ CONTRIBUTED NOTES. ←

Corrections to the text of the Monolith of Shalmaneser as given in "Hebraica" II. No. 3, April, 1886.—Since my translation of the above text appeared, this inscription has been translated into German by Dr. Peiser in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Bd. I. pp. 150-174. Dr. Peiser's reading of $\text{\textcircled{K}}$ ar instead of id I. 9 is correct. He adopts my reading i-tí-bír II. 16. This reading, however is incorrect, as there is not sufficient space for the syllable tí. The correct reading is e-bir. My readings, II. 23, kas pi...e-šu-ni, I. 28, kakki are all correct. To the latter Peiser affixes an interrogation mark. In the word e-šu-ni the sign šu is very distinct. Peiser gives e-ri-ni and adds, "so wohl zu lesen." This we would naturally expect and I added in my translation a foot-note saying that it was probably a mistake of the scribe. But this is not absolutely certain.

II. 61, u-ša-u. Dr. Peiser follows my reading here and the u is found on the stone, but as the following signs are broken out it is probable that the u is the initial remnant of the following word.

II. 73, muḫ-tab-li-šu. My reading is almost certain though the sign is broken slightly.

II. 74, ekallim. Peiser is correct in rejecting my reading ekalli.

II. 89. My corrections ad-di, and II. 90 šarruti-šu adopted by Peiser leave no room for doubt.

II. 94, ši-a-na-ai. The a was written, but it was afterwards cut out as nothing but the low outline remains.

In the other instances where Dr. Peiser affixes an interrogation to my corrections, the mark may be removed. The above corrections are made on the basis of a fresh examination of the Monolith in 1892.

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✧BOOK NOTICES.✧

BEZOLD'S ORIENTAL DIPLOMACY.*

This volume is supplementary to Bezold and Budge's *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with autotype facsimiles*, published in 1892, which contains the *texts*—printed with Harrison's type—of the Tell el-Amarna tablets in the British Museum. The plan of these two volumes is very highly to be commended. I am of the opinion that type should be used, wherever it is possible, in the reproduction of Assyrian and Babylonian texts. It must be granted that printing with type is much more expensive than the autograph method, and that it is very difficult to reproduce some of the uncommon forms of the characters. On the other hand, it is more legible than the script of most Assyriologists. It makes it possible, also, to determine the exact views of any author on any particular passage.

It must be acknowledged that a number of Assyriologists, who autograph, are very careless about difficult passages. A little scratching here and there relieves them of a great amount of responsibility, and leads, in some cases, to a degree of carelessness, which is inexcusable. In the use of type, the author must settle, in his own mind, at least, the exact reading of any given passage, but with the autograph method it is possible so to write a sign, or a combination of signs, as to leave the decipherment to the conjectures of the reader.

I do not believe that the time has come when a complete translation of this literature is possible, and hence the author's *résumés*, grammatical notes, transliterations, and complete glossary are much more welcome to the student than the attempts of some scholars to give complete translations, which, in the end, amount to nothing and only bring disgrace to our subject. The chief work for Assyriologists at present, as has been so often expressed by Father Strassmaier, is to bring before the public some more of the 40,000 to 50,000 texts in the British Museum—besides the other large collections—instead of quarreling over small grammatical and lexicographical points, for the settlement of which the data are not at hand.

I am, then, in perfect agreement with Bezold as to his plan of publication: (1) texts in type; (2) a transliteration with a *résumé* of the contents; (3) a complete glossary and (4) grammatical notes.

I will notice only one or two points in particular. In *Oriental Diplomacy*, Bezold has placed both *danniš* and *adanniš* under the root *danānu*, without further comment. I am inclined to think that he is correct in this view, and would add the following: *danniš* is used interchangeably with *adanniš* in 1, 6; 2, 6; 3, 7, etc. *Ana danniš* = *andanniš* = *addanniš* (K. 519, 3, 7; K. 532, 3, 7, etc.) = *adanniš* (the form in common use) = *adaniš* (K. 485, 9).

* ORIENTAL DIPLOMACY: being the transliterated text of the Cuneiform Dispatches between the Kings of Egypt and Western Asia in the XVth century before Christ, discovered at Tell el-Amarna, and now preserved in the British Museum. With full Vocabulary, Grammatical Notes, etc., by Charles Bezold. London: Luzac & Co., 1893, 8vo, pp. xliii + 124.

In §18, Bezold says: "when a suffix is attached to a noun, the vowel preceding in three instances is doubled in writing." Cf. K. 564 (*ABLK.* [198] 14), where we have *hazânâte-e-šu*; also 27, 28 = *e-mu-ki-e-šu*; also 31 = *i-si-e-šu*. For the form *a-bi-te-e* without a suffix, cf. K. 939a (*ABLK.* [46], 14).

Professor Bezold has just been called to Heidelberg to succeed Brünnow in the chair of Oriental Languages. He has, however, arranged with the authorities of the British Museum to continue, for a part of each year, his work on the catalogues of the Assyrian collections. He is also at work on an Assyrian Chrestomathy, which may be expected in the near future.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

HARPER'S ASSYRIAN LETTERS.*

The above work constitutes the second volume of the author's "Corpus Epistolarum," the first of which appeared in 1892. The value of this work to Assyriology was emphasized by the present reviewer in a critique published in *HEBRAICA*, (Vol. VIII., Nos. 3, 4). Two reviews of the same work have since appeared by Pater Strassmaier, and by Prof. Dr. Bezold, respectively, in *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie* and in *Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, VIII., pp. 87-89. Both of these scholars, whose practical knowledge of the original tablets and of the pro-paedeutics of the art of copying and editing clay texts of all sorts and conditions makes their judgment valuable, have gracefully acknowledged the merits of Part I. All that was said in connection with Part I. bearing upon plan, method and execution might be repeated with reference to Part II., which furnishes fresh evidence of the necessity of a comprehensive study of this branch of literature. The work of copying, sometimes supposed to be a mechanical production whose only requirements are ocular and digital, requires not only practice of a general character but also extensive acquaintance with the special class of documents to be copied. Seven of the texts of this volume were published shortly before this appeared by Hugo Winckler in *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten, Teil II.: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*. Dr. Winckler is not a novice in the art of the copyist and yet the disadvantage he labored under because of his insufficient acquaintance with the Kuyunjik letters appears clearly when his copies are compared with those before us. Exhaustive study of a given class of documents is the best preventive of error. While in the British Museum the present writer had an opportunity to collate a large number of the letters contained in Part I. The few corrections made were offered in the critique. With added skill and knowledge of the documents we may reasonably assume that the author has in the present work reduced errors to a minimum.

From a comparison of Part II. with Part I. it is clear that the author is acting wisely in presenting the texts largely as he finds them. There are many lacunae. The restorations, however, can be much more satisfactorily made when a comparative study of the whole is made possible and a complete vocabulary alphabeti-

*ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE K. COLLECTION OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Robert Francis Harper, of The University of Chicago. Part II. *The University Press of Chicago*, Chicago; *Luzac & Co.*, London, 1893, 8vo, 117-228 + XV. pp. \$7.00.

cally arranged. Not until then, moreover, can any serious attempt be made to translate these often apparently enigmatical communications. In the meantime all earnest Assyrian students will find here a field worthy of quiet cultivation. These two volumes contain not a few linguistic peculiarities, new particles, or new uses of old particles. Both Grammar and Lexicon will be gainers. It is to be hoped that the author will carry out his intention of publishing all of these letters together with those of the Rassam and other collections. This will be a valuable service to the science of Assyriology for which all interested students will be grateful.

The University of Chicago, in becoming the patron of this work by granting the author opportunity abroad for protracted study of the texts and further by becoming responsible for the work, sets a good example to other American institutions which we hope they will not be slow to follow in the interest of science.

We call attention in this brief review to the following points only:

The name of the scribe Gabbu-ana-Ašur is correctly given here at the top of the page though the form of writing in l. 2. might lead to a division of bu ana into še bar as Bezold *Cat.*, Vol. I., p. 118 has actually given it. He has corrected this, however, in Vol. III, p. xii. l. 8. The scribe is the same in name, at least, as the one from whom we have four letters in Vol. I.—K. 624, obv. ll. 10, 11, 14 and rev. 3, 7, 17, furnishes several examples of the use of ina = 𒂗 , as e. g., in the phrase 𒂗𒀭𒂗 . Ina eštēn ammatī in these lines becomes the *locus classicus* for this construction. Cf., however, *DG.*, p. 333 where the construction is referred to and Esarh. V. 3sq. quoted.

K. 469 *Edge*, reads am-ša bit-ḫal-la-ti-šu-nu ina paniya izazu. The ordinary pl. of bit-ḫal-lu (e.g. Salm. Ob. 65, 98; Mon. II. 51; Asurn. II. 53, 72, 103; III. 58, 59, 63, 69; III R. V., No. 6, 12, etc.) is bit-ḫal-li(lu)(la). But bit-ḫal-lu, though originally masculine and used to designate "stallions," seems afterwards to have been applied generally to "riding horses" and to have included both the male and female. V R. 55, 58 am-ša bit-ḫal-li ana âlâni la e-ri-e-bi u ina libbi f.imeru sîsê bit-ḫal-la la ṣabâti shows that the form bit-ḫal-la was used of mares. This points to the singular bit-ḫal-lu as a feminine as well as masculine. If the singular bit-ḫal-la-tu existed we would expect the ending âti, but not â as the plural. Cf. Delitzsch, *BAS.* I. S. 211 where he says "Da....auch Stuten als Reitpferde dienten, könnte es nicht befremden, würde man einmal dem Plur. bitḫallâti begegnen." This letter actually gives it.

The reading of the proper name occurring in K. 565, l. 14, discussed by Delitzsch, *BAS.* II. 60, and read Hu-te-ru is shown by K. 1067 to be Hu-te-šub. Cf. Rev. l. 5, Hu-te-ru(šub) with l. 8 Hu-te-šu-bu. See also 1037, l. 2., Vol. II. p. 219.

K. 492, l. 14, we read ḫa-ra-me-ma mâr šarri li-is-si. The word ḫa-ra-me-ma is found, in addition to III R. 53, No. 3, 18, i. e. K. 685, to which Delitzsch, *BAS.* I. S. 630 refers, in K. 520, obv. 9, in the form ḫa-ra-am-me and also in K. 1197, Rev. 3 in the form ḫa-ra-am-me-ma. From this it is seen that the syllable ma is enclitic.

Delitzsch, *BAS.* I. 219, f. discusses the important word še-a-ri (iš-še-a-ri) suggesting the meaning "chestens," "so bald wie möglich," and *ibid.* II. 24, "morgen."

Cf. in connection with the citations given by Delitzsch the following in these letters:—iš-ši-a-ri: KK. 568, 6; 495, 11; 572, Rev. 2 and i-ši-a-ri 554 Rev. 10, =ina ši-a-ri:—602, Rev. 1, 26; 938a, Rev. 18 (in l. 19 read at instead of la); 623, Rev. 8 (followed by ina li-di-iš, which supplies the lacuna 933, 9); 539, Rev. 5 (cf. l. 6): ana ši-a-ri: 495, 8; 519 Edge, 18; ši-a-ru nu-bat-tu: 626, Rev. 12. and 618, Rev. 8. (kal ûmê ši-a-ri nu-bat-te): ina še-ri-e-ti:—1039, Rev. 11 and ina še-ri-ti l. 16.—K. 565 Rev. 1, supports the interpretation advanced by Delitzsch, *BAS.* I. 228 of the word ni-me-lu. Obv. l. 10 f. reads ina muḥḥi m. Ašur-mukin-pāliya šā šarru bêliya išpu-ranaši(ni) ^{lu}Ašur, ^{lu}Bêl, etc. likrubušu (Rev. l.) ni-me-il-šu šarru be-ili li-mur. i. e. with respect to Asurmukinpaliya touching whom the king my lord has enquired of us may the god Asur, Bel, etc. bless him. His *desire* may the king my lord bestow (lit. see). It is possible, however, that the nimel may relate to the king inasmuch as the remainder of the letter gives information respecting the days favorable for the march. K. 1197, 10 the word seems, from the connection, to have the meaning of "fulness." Ku-zip-pu:—see Del., *BAS.* I. 623, and cf. K. 1204, obv. 12, kuzippi ša šarri il-lu-ku; cf. also K. 4780 Rev. l. 4:—ûm 20 ku-zip-pi (lacuna) šarri be-ili li-in-tu-uḥ ina muḥḥi paššuri, etc. This last passage strengthens Delitzsch's suggestion that the word means "fruit." To be noted here also is the interesting form il-lu-ku l. 13, and probably also Rev. 2. il-lu[ku]. See K. 574, obv. 15, il-lu-ku il-la-ku-ni, cf. Delitzsch *WB.*, p. 484 (this letter is now published). Is l. 9 K. 1204 to be compared with K. 574, 7 and Rev. 11 and the reading of the former to be supplied and corrected so as to read ^{lu}Mat(kur)ba-il?

K. 574, obv. 9, gives the plural of šipru, šip-ra-ni. For the singular cf. K. 1067, Rev. 8. The reading in Delitzsch, *WB.*, p. 484, l. 10 mi-ši-ni is, therefore, erroneous. The interesting letter K. 1274 is addressed to the (royal) astrologer by a woman whose name is Sa-ra-a-a and K. 1062 sends greetings of peace to "Sennacherib the son of the great king."

There are many other points of interest in these letters, e. g., the use of lu . . . lu K. 112, 6, whether . . . or, to which attention might be called. Enough, however, has been said to call attention to this important work. The typographical work in this, as in the previous volume, merits praise. Occasionally a wedge has evidently dropped out as in K. 186, 8, which should read ina lib-bi, and in l. 11 where ma is wanting at the beginning of the line.

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❖ HEBRAICA. ❖

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THE RELATION OF LEV. XX. TO LEV. XVII.-XIX.

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The similarities of diction between Lev. xx. and the portion of the Holiness Code which immediately precedes it (xvii.-xix.) are so obvious and so numerous that they must form the starting point of any investigation into the literary history of this section of the legislation. Characteristic expressions of H which both have in common are as follows,—**אֱבָרָה** familiar spirits (xix. 31; xx. 6, 27), **אִישׁ אִישׁ** whosoever (xvii. 3, 8, 10, 13; xviii. 6; xx. 2, 9), **אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ** I am Yahweh thy God (xviii. 2, 5, 30; xix. 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34, 36; xx. 7), **מִבֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל** of the house of Israel (xvii. 3, 8, 10; xx. 2 in Sam. and Heb. codices), **גִּלּוֹת עֶרְוָה** uncover the nakedness (xviii. 6-18; xx. 11, 18, 19, 20, 21), **הֵלֵךְ בַּחֲקֵי** walk in the statutes (xviii. 3, 4; xx. 23), **זִמָּה** infamy (xviii. 17; xix. 29; xx. 14), **זָנָה אַחֲרַי** go whoring after (xvii. 7; xx. 5, 6), **חָלַל אֱלֹהֶיךָ** profane the name of thy God (xviii. 21; xix. 12; xx. 3), **חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים** statutes and judgments (xviii. 4, 5, 26; xix. 37; xx. 22), **טָמָא** to pollute (xviii. 28; xx. 3), **יְרֵעָנִים** spirits of divination (xix. 31; xx. 6, 27), **וַהֲכַרְתִּי אֹתוֹ** and I will cut him off (xvii. 10; xx. 3, 5), **לִבְלָתִי** in order that (xviii. 30; xx. 4), **מִקְדָּשִׁי** my sanctuary (xix. 30; xx. 3), **מִשְׁכָּבִים** intercourse (xviii. 22; xx. 13), **נָשָׂא עֵון** bear sin (xvii. 16; xix. 8; xx. 17, 19), **עָמָּה** from the midst of his kin (xvii. 4, 10; xviii. 29; xx. 3, 5, 6, 18), **פָּנָה אֵל** pay regard to (xix. 4, 31; xx. 6), **וַנִּתֵּן פָּנַי** and I will set my face (xvii. 10; xx. 3, 6), **קִדְּשִׁים תִּהְיוּ** ye shall be holy (xix. 2; xx. 7, 26), **כִּי אֲנִי קָדוֹשׁ** for I am holy (xix. 2; xx. 26), **קִיא** to vomit (xviii. 25, 28; xx. 22), **קָלַל** to curse (xix. 14; xx. 9), **קָרַב אֶל** draw near unto a woman (xviii. 6, 19; xx. 16), **רֵעָה** fellow (xix. 13, 16, 18;

xx. 10), **שׂר** flesh = near kin (xviii. 12, 13, 17; xx. 19), **נתן שכבתך** give thy issue (xviii. 20, 23; xx. 15), **שמר ועשה** observe and do (xviii. 4, 26, 30; xix. 37; xx. 8, 22), **תכל** confusion (xviii. 23; xx. 12) **תועבה הוא** it is abomination (xviii. 22; xx. 13).

In view of the remarkable correspondence of the diction of this chapter with that of the preceding chapters, there would be no doubt in the mind of any critic that it was an integral part of the Holiness Code, but for the following facts.

1. It contains no new legislation but simply traverses the ground already gone over in Lev. xvii.-xix. and in Lev. xi., a fragment of the Holiness legislation which has been dislocated from its original connection with Lev. xvii.-xix. The correspondence of the laws is as follows.—xx. 2-5 = xviii. 21; xx. 6 = xix. 31; xx. 9 = xix. 3; xx. 10 = xviii. 20; xx. 11 = xviii. 8; xx. 12 = xviii. 15; xx. 13 = xviii. 22; xx. 14 = xviii. 17; xx. 15 = xviii. 23a; xx. 16 = xviii. 23b; xx. 17 = xviii. 9; xx. 18 = xviii. 19; xx. 19 = xviii. 12 sq.; xx. 20 = xviii. 14; xx. 21 = xviii. 16; xx. 22 sq. = xviii. 3 sq.; xx. 25 = Lev. xi. 2-23, 41-45; xx. 27 = xix. 31.

The traditional exegesis has pronounced Lev. xx. to be the enactment of the penalties which are to be visited upon the offences enumerated in Lev. xvii.-xix. If this were true, it would possibly explain the singular repetition of the legislation; but even then one might ask, why the penalties were not inserted in immediate connection with the laws, instead of waiting until the legislation was completed and then repeating it with the penalties. The threat of cutting off is combined with the law in xvii. 4, 9, 10, 14; why is it not combined with the law in xx. 5, 6, 17, 18? It is not the fact, however, that xx. gives the penalties of the laws in xvii.-xix. As Graf first pointed out (*Geschichtliche Bücher des A. T.* p. 77), this chapter is in no sense a code of penalties to be visited upon the offender by the nation. In five cases, that of keeping God's statutes (v. 8), marriage with one's mother's sister (v. 19a), marriage with one's father's sister (v. 19b), distinguishing between clean and unclean beasts and fowl (v. 25a), and eating of creeping things (v. 25b), no penalty whatever is prescribed. These laws are no less important than the rest of the group, and if it had been the intention of the writer to give a code of penalties parallel to the foregoing legislation, he would not have omitted the sanctions here. In seven cases no obligation is laid upon Israel to punish the offender, but Yahweh himself declares that he will intervene in judgment. He will "set his face against the man" and will "cut him off from the midst of his kinsfolk" (vs. 4, 5, 6). "They shall be cut off," i. e. by divine intervention (vs. 17, 18). "They shall be childless" (vs. 20, 21). All of the crimes which are accompanied with these threatenings are of such a nature as to call for the exercise of human penal authority and no reason can be given why the writer should not have said, "they shall surely be put to death," as in

other cases, if his aim had been to give a code of penalties. The threatening of divine judgment is in no true sense a penalty but is rather an exhortation to obedience.

In seven cases it is said that the offender shall be put to death (vs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16), but it is not stated how death is to be inflicted, nor is any distinction made between the crimes, which are of very different degrees of heinousness; so that the formula really furnishes no guide to the judges in any individual case and, therefore, cannot be called a penalty in a strict sense of the word. As Graf very properly observes, "In all these cases, as in the declaration that the offenders shall be cut off from their people, we have no discrimination of civil penalties or of gradation in the various crimes, but only the expression of moral abhorrence towards the respective offences and of the curse which transgressors of the divine will bring down upon themselves."

In two cases stoning is prescribed (vs. 2, 27), and in one (v. 14) burning; these are the only true penalties in the chapter. How little emphasis the author lays upon them, is evident from the fact, that in v. 6 he threatens with divine visitation the same offence which in v. 27 he threatens with stoning. These three crimes are not as flagrant as many of the others, and that they should be provided with specific sanctions, is quite fortuitous.

Again, if it were the purpose of Lev. XX. to give the penalties for the offences enumerated in the foregoing chapters, how does it happen that some of the most grievous of those offences are omitted from the list? Although the rest of the laws of Lev. XVIII. are given, those in regard to marriage with one's mother, granddaughter, and wife's sister are not mentioned. Is that because the author did not regard them as sufficiently important to call for the enactment of a penalty? Why is the consulting of familiar spirits and spirits of divination alone singled out from XIX. to be threatened with punishment, while all the other sins against the majesty of Yahweh remain unnoticed? This is inexplicable if the writer of XX. intended to give the penalties for the offences just enumerated in XVII.-XIX.

Accordingly, it is clear that XX. is in no sense a code of sanctions to the foregoing legislation. It is not supplementary to XVII.-XIX. but parallel to it. It simply gives in another form the legislation which has just been traversed and enlarges it with a variety of motives for obedience. This fact makes it difficult to think that XX. is an integral part of the Holiness legislation or that the original author of XVII.-XIX. has written this chapter.

2. Another reason for doubting that XX. was originally connected with XVII.-XIX. is found in the difference of the structure of this chapter from those which precede it. The methodical and logical treatment of the legislation in XVII.-XIX., apart from obvious glosses, such as XIX. 20-22, is one of its most marked characteristics. The precepts follow one another in the natural order of thought and are

so grouped as to exhaust one subject before another is taken up. In Lev. xx., however, confusion reigns supreme. The laws make the impression of having been thrown together without any plan. The sequence is, Molech-worship, sorcery, cursing father and mother, then various sexual crimes, clean and unclean meats, and sorcery a second time. The only suggestion of plan in this combination is that the sexual crimes are grouped together (vs. 10-21), but within this group the same confusion prevails as throughout the rest of the chapter. In xviii. the order is perfect and the commandments fall into their respective groups with mathematical precision. xviii. 6-10 treats of relationships of the first degree; 11-15, of relationships of the second degree; 16-19, of relationships through marriage; 20-24, of purity outside of the family; and the whole is followed by a hortatory address, 25-30. Here in xx. most of these commandments are given again, but we search in vain for any principle of classification. Can we believe that the two codes come from the same hand?

3. Not only is this chapter unmethodical in structure but it is characterized by a diffuseness of style which is quite foreign to the preceding chapters. The author of xvii-xix. wastes no words. He states his laws in a compact form and, if he gives a sanction or a reason, gives but one and that as brief as possible. This writer, however, piles up after the several precepts a variety of exhortations to obedience and threatens two or more judgments which shall fall upon the transgressor. Notice how in vs. 9, 11, 12, 13, 16 the words "Their (his) blood shall be upon them (him)" are attached to the direction "They (he) shall surely be put to death," although this phrase adds nothing to the thought. In v. 12 there is a triple comment, "They shall surely be put to death: they have wrought confusion: their blood shall be upon them" (cf. v. 14). So also in v. 16, "Thou shalt kill the woman and the beast: they shall surely be put to death: their blood shall be upon them." In vs. 2-5 the writer threatens the Molech-worshipper with death, and then adds, "The people of the land shall stone him with stones." Not satisfied with this emphasis, he threatens him also with cutting off by God, regardless of the fact that if the judgment already pronounced be executed, this is an impossibility; and finally, he extends the sentence to the family of the man and to all who aid and abet him in his wickedness. This is quite analogous to the redundant style which we have found already in this chapter and needs no theory of a combination of documents to explain it (against Dillmann, Baentsch). Similarly in v. 10 the tautology, "A man who commits adultery with the wife of a man," and "He who commits adultery with the wife of his fellow," does not demand the assumption of two sources (Dillmann), but is simply one more instance of the author's redundancy of style. The same sort of a double expression of a single idea is found in 10a, 17b, 18a, but in none of these cases does Dillmann assume two sources for the text. Verse 27 also is probably only another instance of the author's love of amplification and disre-

gard of order. Wishing to lay special emphasis upon the evil of consulting familiar spirits and spirits of divination, and feeling that he had not said all that was possible in v. 6, he returns to the subject in v. 27 and adds to the previous threat of extermination by the intervention of God, "They shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones: their blood shall be upon them," a sentence which is quite as redundant as any that we have met hitherto. The style of XX., accordingly, is very different from the direct and terse style of the code in XVII.-XIX., so different, in fact, that it is difficult to believe that both are the composition of the same author.

4. In spite of all the similarities of diction between Lev. XX. and the legislation of H which precedes it, there are some remarkable differences which deserve to be noted carefully. Most striking of all is the regular use of the introductory formula **אִישׁ אִישׁ** (vs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, cf. **הַנֶּפֶשׁ אִישׁ** v. 6), which is found nowhere else in the Holiness Code. Another peculiarity, which runs through the entire chapter, is the use of the phrase **דָּמּוֹ בּוֹ**, "His blood shall be upon him," or, "Their blood shall be upon them" (vs. 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 27). The expression, with the addition of **יָרִיקָה**, is found in Ezek. XVIII. 13 but does not occur in the Hexateuch outside of Lev. XX. The different formula of XVII. 4, "Blood shall be imputed to that man," is worthy of notice. Neither of the expressions, "In Israel," or "The people of the land" (vs. 2, 4), are used elsewhere in H. The phrase, "Hide the eyes from," is not found in H nor anywhere else in the Hexateuch.

Other cases of verbal difference from XVII.-XIX. are as follows; the construction of **נֶפֶשׁ** as a masculine in v. 6 (in XVII. 10, 15; XVIII. 29 it is treated as a feminine), the use of **טָמֵא** in the sense of "regard as unclean," as in P, instead of "defile," as in H (Lev. XI. 44; XVIII. 28).

Even where this author is closest to the style of XVII.-XIX. he shows a freedom in the use of the phrases in question which is not found in those chapters. For instance, he not only says, **וְאֲנִי אֶתֵּן אֶת־פָּנַי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא**, "And I will give my face against that man," which is the regular form in the previous chapters; but he modifies this into, **וְשָׁמַתִּי אֶת־פָּנַי בְּאִישׁ הַהוּא**, which is not found elsewhere in H. He not only says, "I will cut him off," "And that man shall be cut off," forms which the preceding chapters employ, but he says also, "They shall be cut off in the sight of the children of their people," an expression which is unique in the Hexateuch. Besides the expressions of the purity laws in XVIII., in this shorter parallel we find the additional phrases, **יָקָח** (v. 10), **אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵי הָעֵרָה** (v. 18), **הָעֵרָה אֶת־מִקְרָהּ** (v. 17), **רָאָה אֶת־עֵרָוָהּ** (v. 14), **חָסֵד הוּא** (v. 17), **חָבֵל עֵשׂוּ** (v. 12). These instances show that the similarity of diction, upon which we commented at the outset, is only superficial and that the writer of XX. has really a much more copious vocabulary than the writer of XVII.-XIX.

Furthermore, there is an absence of certain constantly recurring expressions of xvii.-xix. from xx. which is surprising if these chapters come from the same hand. *אני יהיה*, without any added words, is a closing formula which runs through all the holiness legislation; but, curiously enough, it is absent from this chapter. The words *עמית* neighbor and *אחיו* thy brother, which are so frequent elsewhere in H, are also wanting, although there is nothing in the contents to hinder the use of them. The characteristic expression *לטמא* "for defilement" (xviii. 20, 23; xix. 31; xxii. 5), which would be most appropriate in this context, is also wanting.

In view of all these facts it must be admitted, I think, that it is improbable that Lev. xx. was written by the author of Lev. xvii.-xix.

In this conclusion the majority of modern critics are agreed, but in the explanation which they give of the peculiar relation between these passages they differ widely from one another. The main theories which are proposed are the following.

1. Graf (*Geschichtliche Bücher*, p. 77) recognizes fully the weight of the considerations which make it impossible to regard Lev. xx. as originally connected with xvii.-xix., and seeks to explain the similarities of style by the hypothesis that it was written by the author of xvii.-xix. at a later time and under different historical conditions.

With this theory the facts enumerated above are as inconsistent as they are with the theory that xx. is the original continuation of xvii.-xix. No reason can be given why an author who had already published a complete legislation should repeat the same at a later time in a fragmentary form. Even if we grant that he might have done so, we cannot see why he should abandon in his new code the logical method and orderly arrangement of his former code. This theory fails also to explain why, in treating of precisely the same subjects as in the earlier legislation, he should change his terse and direct style into a diffuse and repetitious one, or why he should give up so many of his habitual expressions and make constant use of others which he never employed in his earlier code.

2. Wellhausen (*Composition d. Hexateuchs*, p. 157), Baentsch (*Heiligkeitgesetz*, p. 31), and most of the Graßian school hold that the kernel of Lev. xx., the legislation in vs. 10-21, is drawn from a code which was originally independent of Lev. xviii. and that it owes its present position to the writer of xx. 2-5, 22sq., who is the editor of the whole code.

This theory explains the doubling of the legislation of Lev. xviii. in Lev. xx., but it fails to explain the close correspondence in thought and language between the assumed kernel and its assumed doublet. If xx. 10-21 was originally independent of xviii., how does it happen that it contains not one law which is not found in xviii.? One can see how a second code treating of the same subject should in large measure contain the same commandments, but one

cannot see how, if it were independent in its origin, it should not contain at least a few laws not found in its doublet. Baentsch attempts to evade this argument by assuming that the editor of XX. has supplemented all deficiencies in the kernel out of its doublet in XVIII. and omitted from it everything that was different from XVIII. This, however, is a purely arbitrary assumption, which has nothing in its favor except that it bolsters up Baentsch's theory of the relation of the codes.

Again, the similarity of the diction of this chapter with those which precede it is against any hypothesis of strict literary independence. If these similarities were confined to the paraenetic setting, as it is called, and the central code were different, then this theory would be the most probable one, but it is not the fact. If one will examine the list of verbal and phraseological similarities given at the beginning of this article, one will see at a glance that the similarities are quite as great and quite as numerous in the code as in the so-called "setting." These similarities are not of the nature of redactional amplifications, so that one might conjecture that the editor of the whole had added them at the time of his incorporation of the code, but they are woven into the fundamental structure of the laws and must have belonged to their first draft.

Wellhausen's suggestion that similarity of standpoint and nearness of time of origin will explain this verbal correspondence is insufficient, for there is more here than a mere general correspondence of language. In many instances there is an exact verbal correspondence between the supposed doublets, and this points to a closer connection between the documents than that they have originated in the same age or have made use of the same oral tradition. XX. 11 agrees with XVIII. 8 in using the indefinite expression אשת-אביו, wife of thy father, for step-mother and also in the peculiar application of the expression, "uncover the nakedness," to the father who is dishonored as well as to the woman, to whom alone it is strictly appropriate. In XX. 13 and in its parallel, XVIII. 22, we find the identical phrases, ישכב את-זכר, and משכבי אשה, neither of which are usual. More remarkable still, the comment upon the offence, that it is תועבה "abomination," is found in both passages. The very peculiar language of XVIII. 23 לא תהן שכבתך and רבע reappears in XX. 15, 16. The nearer definition of sister by the words, "The daughter of thy father or the daughter of thy mother," which can hardly be said to be necessary to the sense, is found both in XX. 17 and in XVIII. 9. The extraordinary use of גלות ערוה in the case of a wife in XVIII. 19 is followed also in XX. 18.

XX. 19 and XVIII. 12sq. agree in speaking of the aunt as "the sister of the father or the sister of the mother," and both annex the peculiar reason, not found in other cases, that she is שאר "near kin." XX. 20 and XVIII. 14 both speak of the uncle's wife as רדה and pronounce marriage with her an uncovering of the uncle's nakedness (cf. also XX. 21 and XVIII. 16). These verbal coin-

cidences cannot be accidental and they make it impossible to believe that Lev. xviii. and Lev. xx. are independent of one another in their literary origin. This is precisely the same sort of verbal similarity with the preceding legislation which we find in those portions of chapter xx. which enclose the laws about sexual purity. Whatever explanation we give to the similarities of diction in the setting, we must give also to the similarities of the kernel in vs. 10-21, for they are identical in kind. If vs. 2-9, 22-27 are to be ascribed to the collector of the entire Holiness Code, over against the original author of the legislation in xvii.-xix., then vs. 10-12 must also be ascribed to the same hand.

Another objection to this theory is that vs. 10-21 do not, after all, form a code in any strict sense of the word. The characteristic absence of direct address (noted by Wellhausen himself, *Composition*, p. 158) is evidence against its ever having been intended to circulate as a code, inasmuch as elsewhere direct address is one of the most marked features of Hebrew legislation. Its incompleteness also makes it improbable that it ever existed as an independent document. The prohibition of marriage with one's mother, daughter, granddaughter, sister, and wife's sister are wanting from the group. The first four of these offences are perhaps the worst that could arise. Can that be called a code which has nothing to say about such weighty matters? Of course it is possible to say that laws on these subjects once stood in the group and have been omitted by the editor, but it is impossible to prove this assertion. That a later compiler should have singled out these cases above all others for omission, is exceedingly improbable.

The lack of order in the commandments, which we have already noticed, is also against regarding this group of precepts as a code. If it had been published as such, it seems almost necessary that it should be cast into some form which would appeal to the logical faculty and to the memory. In absence of this, it seems to me unlikely that it ever existed as a separate document.

One more argument may be urged against regarding 10-21 as a fragment of an independent code. If we do so, we must also regard the precepts in vs. 2-9, 22-27 as extracts from codes which were parallel to H, for, as we have seen already, these sections do not stand in any different literary relation to H from that of vs. 10-21. That is to say, we must assume a doublet or set of doublets, parallel not only to Lev. xviii., but parallel also to xix. and to xi. 2-23, 41-47. Baentsch (p. 31) actually does this, but it is a difficult hypothesis. It is possible that a doublet to xviii. may have existed, but it is scarcely probable that a doublet existed to the entire legislation of H which precedes chapter xx., a doublet which corresponded so closely that not a single law stood in it which did not stand in the other legislation. If we are not willing to make this assumption for the entire chapter, we have no right to make it for vs. 10-21.

3. Dillmann attempts to explain the relation of Lev. xx. to xvii.-xix. by the application of his peculiar theory of a J recension of H along with a P

recension of H. Chapter XX., according to him, has been drawn by the editor from J's redaction of the original H, while XVIII. and the other parallels are drawn from P's redaction.

This theory evidently meets the objections just urged against Wellhausen's theory of originally independent documents for XVIII.-XIX. and XX., for, according to it, the documents are not independent but go back to a common primitive source. If the source of Lev. XX. was simply another recension of the same code which underlies Lev. XI. and XVIII.-XIX., it is natural enough that this chapter should contain no new legislation and that it should have many points of similarity of diction with them. The great difficulty, however, in this theory is the absence of any proof of the existence of two such recensions apart from the fact that we find these parallel groups of laws. There is nothing to show that XX. comes from a J recension except that certain expressions of J occur in this chapter, but that is the case in XVIII. also. In both chapters these phrases are found in the hortatory comments only, and they prove no more than that one of the editors of H was acquainted with the history of J. If the characteristics of J were woven into the legislation of XX., the theory of a J recension would be probable, but this is not the case. The coincidences with J are redactional elements superimposed upon the legislation here precisely as they are superimposed upon XVIII. and upon the rest of the code.

Again chapter XVIII. contains nothing which suggests that its legislation has passed through a redaction at the hands of P. The only argument which Dillmann is able to make in support of this theory is as follows (Ex.-Lev. p. 541, "In den Gesetzen selbst, die in der Hauptsache sehr alt sind, findet sich kein Zeichen, um die Quelle sicher zu bestimmen. Jedoch, da in XX. 8-24 R den Text des C (= J) zu Grund gelegt hat, ist wahrscheinlich, dass er XVIII. 6-20. A (= P) folgte, für welchen ohnedem die systematische Ordnung und Vollständigkeit spricht, aber vs. 21-23 aus C excerpirt hat." That is to say, Dillmann assigns the legislation in XVIII. to P because he must give that in XX. to J and has no other editor left to whom he may assign it. There are no linguistic marks pointing to the redactional hand of P, and the only indication of style is the systematic arrangement; but the original H is always systematic, even in those sections which Dillmann assigns to the J recension, and, therefore, this cannot be claimed as a peculiarity which is due to the influence of P. Besides this, it is a great weakness in Dillmann's theory, that he is compelled to cut out of the midst of XVIII. laws which are an integral part of its legislation (vs. 21-23) because they show the same standpoint as the supposed J recension in XX. This criticism seems to me exceedingly arbitrary. The fine logical development of thought in XVIII., and the regular arrangement of its legislation in groups, point to a unity of source; but Dillmann rejects these evidences and then, without any evidence, supposes P to have recast the legislation in XVIII., although not one of

his characteristic phrases occurs, and although the whole subject of the legislation is alien to his spirit.

The relation of XVIII. to XX. is the stronghold of the theory that the present form of the Holiness Code has arisen through the combination of two recensions of a primitive H, and if it breaks down here, there is little hope of carrying it through elsewhere in the code. The supposed extracts from parallel codes in XIX. and other parts of H can, I think, all be shown to be nothing more than glosses or accidental transpositions of laws which stand in their right connection elsewhere in the code; they lend, therefore, no support to the hypothesis that H once existed in a double form.

Not finding that any of the theories just enumerated are satisfactory, we are shut up, it seems to me, to the hypothesis that Lev. XX. is a hortatory commentary on the foregoing code in XVII.-XIX. This hypothesis will explain, I believe, all of the phenomena in the case and it is the only one which will do so. That chapter XX. contains no legislation which is not found in the preceding chapters, is due to the fact that its author had H before him when he wrote and simply worked over given material. That many of the laws of XVII.-XIX. are left out in XX. is due to the fact that its author had already retained these laws from his sources in XVII.-XIX. and therefore, did not feel compelled to insert them here. Theoretical completeness is not what he aims at in this chapter, but rather the emphasizing of certain laws which were peculiarly liable to be violated in his time. The lack of order in the precepts of XX. is due to the fact that the writer's aim was exhortation and not legislation, so that it was quite immaterial in what succession he enumerated the duties. The redundant style is precisely what we should expect in one who made a selection of old laws a basis for his homily and whose chief aim was to impress the conscience.

The many similarities of diction with XVII.-XIX. are due to the fact that the author of XX. was thoroughly familiar with the contents and language of the document which he was annotating and intentionally imitated it. That they are not signs of identity of authorship but rather of quotation, is evidenced by the circumstance that they are not spontaneous expressions of the writer of XX. and are not always used intelligently by him. For instance, XVII.-XIX. threatens that God will cut a man off from his kinsfolk in cases where the offence is of such a nature that it would not naturally come to the cognizance of the civil authorities, but in XX. 3 the threat is appended to the sin of sacrificing children to Molech, which is in no sense a private offence, and this shows that the writer has mechanically adopted this phrase without observing its exact use in his source.

The closing formula, "I am Yahweh your God," is used throughout XVII.-XIX. to mark the logical divisions of the code into its groups of laws, in XX., however, it is employed entirely indiscriminately.

Another indication that the similarity of diction is due to quotation is found in the fact, that the writer of this chapter feels the necessity of explaining expressions which he has borrowed from the original code. A case of this sort is seen in v. 11, where the expression, "uncover the nakedness of one's father," is used precisely as in xviii. 8, and yet the author feels it necessary to interpret this by the added clause, "lie with the wife of one's father" (cf. vs. 20, 21). Notice also how in xx. 23 the writer uses *וְיָ* in dependence upon xviii. 24, but so soon as he begins to write of his own accord in the following verses, abandons it for *עֲמִים*.

It seems to me, therefore, that the mere comparison of the more striking similarities of the diction of this chapter with that of chapters xvii.-xix., apart from any other facts, favors the theory that the writer of this chapter is an imitator.

The differences of the diction of this chapter from xvii.-xix. need no comment, for if this chapter be the work of an annotator of the original legislation, it is only natural that, along with quotation and imitation of the document before him, he should also show variations due to his own peculiar style.

If space permitted, it would be possible, I think, to show that Lev. xx. comes from the same hand which has added the hortatory amplifications in Lev. xviii. 25-30; xxv. 18-22, and probably also in Lev. xxvi. The proof, however, cannot be given in this article. I must content myself with having shown that Lev. xx. is not an extract from an independent code, or even an independent recension, but that it is an hortatory address written by a later editor with the primitive holiness legislation as his text.

A CRITICAL COPY OF THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH WRITTEN IN A. D. 1232.

BY REV. W: SCOTT WATSON, A. M.,

Towerhill (Guttenberg P. O.), N. J.

IV. COLLATION.

The printed text of the Samaritan Pentateuch with which the codex has been compared is that of Blayney's "Pentateuchus Hebraeo-Samaritanus Characteres Hebraeo-Chaldaico." (The verses are referred to as they are there numbered.) The editor professes to give an exact reprint of the text of the London Polyglot.

The results have been gathered into ten tables, as follows:

Table I.—General collation and index to the other tables;

Table II.—Two readings actually given;

Table III.—Places where ך is omitted from the middle of a word but its insertion is indicated for a secondary reading;

Table IV.—Places where ך is found in the middle of a word but its omission is indicated for a secondary reading;

Table V.—Places where ך is omitted from the middle of a word but its insertion is indicated for a secondary reading;

Table VI.—Places where ך is found in the middle of a word but its omission is indicated for a secondary reading;

Table VII.—Places where secondary readings other than those included in the preceding tables are indicated;

Table VIII.—Interlineations and other additions made after the first writing;

Table IX.—Erasures and changes made in whole or in part by erasure;

Table X.—Places where the text of the codex is lost.

TABLE I.

GENESIS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
1 1 to 3:19.	See Table X.	4 4 מנחמו מנחתו	
3 20 אדם האדם		7 לא תטיב לפתח לא תטיב לפתח	
21 כיחנות	IV. כיחנ(ו)ת.	" תטיב לפתח	{ Both words { omitted. }
24 להט לחט			
4 2 רעה רעי		10 דמי דם	
4 ומחלביהן	VII.	12 תוסף תוסף	

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
4 12 (2d) את	תת	8 22 וחרף	וחרף
" כחה	III. כ*חה	9 6 אדם	האדם
18 וילד	ויוולד	12 לדרת	לדרות
" מיחאל	מחאל	15 לשחית	להשחית
23 אמרתי	V. אמ*רתי	17-19	X.
25 וידע	IX.	10 2 ומושך	מושך
5 19, 28-30, 32	X.	3 ריפד	ריפת
32 (2d) את	ואת	4 ותרשיש	X. תרשי[ש]
6 1 כי	X.	5, 6	X.
2 טובת	טובות See also IX.	10 וכלהן	וכלנה
4 הגברים	III. הגב*רים	18 לודים	לדים
4-7	X.	15 חת	VII.
7 טשיתים	VI. עשית(ים)	23 חוץ	עוץ
8-10	X.	26 חצרמות	חצרימות
10 (2d) את	ואת	27 איזל	עיזל
11-13	X.	29 חוילה	החוילה
13 משחיתים	VI. משחית(ים)	11 4-23	X.
14 עשי	עשה	26 ויוליד	V. ויול*ר
14-17	X.	" את (2d)	ואת
17 לשחית	להשחית	27 " "	"
18 ובאת, ונשי	X.	29 ארם	אכרם
19 להיות	לחיות	30 ילד	V. יל*ר
19-22	X.	12 5 ארץ	ארצה
7 1-8, 10, 11	X.	9 הלך	הלוך
11 נפתחה	נפתחו	12 אתך	VI. את(ים)
12 היה	ויהי	13 אחתי	III. אח*תי
17 "	"	" בעבורך	בעבורך
" מעל	X.	" בגללך	בגללך
19 הגבהים	הגבחים	15 ביתה	VII.
21-23	X.	16 עבדים	VII.
23 הישאר	וישאר	" וחמרים	III. וחמ*רים
24 ויגברו, יום	X.	19 אחתי	III. אח*תי
8 1 המים	X.	13 2 בכסף	ובכסף
2 ויכלא	ויכל	6 יחרו	יחרו
2-9, 17	X.	8 אנכס	אברם
19 הרמש	הרמש הרמש	9 (2d) השמאלה	והשמאלה
21 וירח	VI. ויר(ים)	18 וילך	ויאל
" אוסף (1st & 2d)	אוסף	14 1 ואריוך	VII.
22 קר	קור	2 ושמאבר	ושם אבר
" וחום	וחם	" צבאים	צבואים

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
14 2	IX.	17 9	לדרותם
5	VII.	9-12	X.
"	VII.	12	לדרותיכם
8	III. צב*אים	13, 15	X.
"	VII.	16	ומלכי
9	אמרפל	19-21	X.
13	ויגר	21	האחרת
14	נשבא	22, 23	X.
17	VII.	24	בהמלו
24	VII.	25	X. בהמלו]
15 1	וישכרך	18 2	אנשים
4	VI. ממע(י)ך	6	סאים
"	X.	6, 7, 9	X.
7	VIII.	13	אמנם
8	אירשנה	19 (1st & 2d)	אברהם
10	VIII.	20	X.
"	בתרו	21	הכצקתה
"	III. הצפ*רים	22	האנשים
13	ידע	25 (1st)	חלילה
14	יעברו	"	III. הש*פט
15	III. אב*תיך	33	שב
"	תקבר	19 2	ויאמר
16	IX.	5	האנשים
16 6	בידיך	6	X.
"	עשה	8	אוציא
8	III. א*י	9	VII.
"	באת	"	לגור
9	והתעני	"	III. ש*פת
10	VI. זרע(י)ך	16	ויוצאהו
11	V. הנ*ך	"	ויניחהו
"	V. עני*ך	17	תבט
12	הוא	"	VII.
"	פרה	20	IX.
14	VII.	"	ותחיה
16	את	23	יצא
17 4	Probably ואני	26	IX.
6	IX.	"	נציב
"	IX.	28 (1st)	VII.
7	לדרותם	29	בשחית
9	ויאמר	32	אבינו

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
19 83 ותשקיהן	ותשמינה	23 8 מתי	מיתי (VI.?)
34 נשקנו	נשקינן	9 קרב	קבר
85 ותשקיהן	ותשקיהן	11 מתך	מ(י)תך VI.
20 2 אחתי	III. אח*תי	13 מתי	מיתי
3 אודת	אדות	15 מתך	מיתך
5 אחתי	III. אח*תי	18 בעי	באי
7 השב	VI. הש(י)ב	24 8 אחקריך	אחריך
8 כל	IX.	" משבעתי	משבועתי
9 יעשון	ייעשון	12 ויאמר	IX.
12 האמנם	אמנם	18 נצב	נציב
" אחתי	אחותי	" יצאות	יצאת
13 חסדך	VI. חסד(י)ך	14 הטי	הטני
16 לאחריך	VI. לאח(י)ך	" נא	The word omitted.
" לך	V. ל*ך	" כריך	(VI.?) כריך
" אתיד	VI. את(י)ך	17 מכרך	מכריך
21 7 הינקה	IX.	18 ותורד	ותוריד
11 אודת	אדות	20 "	"
14 שים	שם	" הכיר	הבאר
16 הרחיקה	הרחקה	28 ותגיד	VI. ותג(י)ד
" כמטחוי	VIII.	30 אחתו (1st)	אחותו
17 מליך	מלכי	" (2d) do.	III. אח*תו
18 וחוקי	והחוקי	35 גמלים	וגמלים
" יריך	V. יד*ך	37 וישבעני	וישביעני
21 פארן	פראן	38 כי אם לא	כי אם
22 ופי כל	As one word.	42 ואבוא	III. ואביא
25 ויוכיח	והוכיח	43 נצב	נציב
29 לאברהם	אברהם	" השקני	השקיני
32 ופי כל	As one word.	45 ותרד	X.
" וישבו	וישובו	" השקני	השקיני
33 העולם	עולם	" מכרך	VI. מכר(י)ך
22 2 יחידאך	יאחידך	46 ותורד	VI. ותור(י)ד
5 נלכה	VII.	" השקתה	VII.
9 ועצים	העצים	49 ישכם	X.
12 יחידאך	יאחידך	50 לא	X.
16 "	"	51 ותהי	ותהיה
21 בכרו	בכורו	51-54	X.
24 האת	ואת	56 ויהוה	X.
23 3 מתי	מיתי	59 אחתם	אחותם
4 "	VI. מ(י)תי	" אברהם	X.
6 מתך (1st)	מיתך		

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
24 60 אחתנו	אחותנו	27 18 אף	אך
61-67	X.	15 החמדות	החמדות
25 3 הוליד	ילד	" ותלבש	ותלבש (ו)ש VI.
" ולטשאים	ולטשים	19 בכרך	בכורך
4 עיפה	VII.	" שבע	שבה
" וחנוך	חנוך	21 ואמושך	ואמ*שך III.
8 עמו	IX.	22 והמשהו	וימשהו
11 ראי	VII.	27 וירח	ויר*ח V.
12 ומצרית	המצרית	28 ויתן	IX.
15 ונפיש	נפיש	" האלהים	IX.
16 ובטירותם	ובטיר*תם III.	" ותירוש	ותירש
17 וימות	וימת	31 ויעם	ויעש
23 הצעיר	VIII.	32 בכרך	בכ*רך III.
25 אדמוני	אדמ*ני III.	35, 36 מטל	ומטל
27 ויעקב	ויעקב	39 שב	שוב
29 ויצד	והעטני	45, 46 ויצו	X.
30 העלטני	האד*ם III.	28 6 ויצו	VII.
" האדום	"	11, 12 נצב	X.
" האדם	III. בכר*תך	18 מראישתו	נציב
31 בכרתך	III. בכ*רה	18 יעבק	מראשיתו
32 בכורה	בכורתו	20 הבכורה	יעקב
33 בכרתו	הבכורה	21, 22 רבצים	X.
34 הבכרה	III. השב*עה	29 2 גדול	רבצים
26 3 חקתי	חקותי	7 אמי	IX.
5 ותורתי	ותורותי	10 ותגיד	אמו
9 אחתי	אח*תי III.	12 אחתו	ותגד
" אמוה	אמות	18 ויבאהו	אח*תו III.
13 עד	IX.	18 הקטנה	ויבאהו
18 וישוב	וישב	21 חבה	VIII.
21 אחרית	אחרת	26 במקומינו	הבא
22 "	"	34 ילוי	במקומנו
" רחיבות	רחבות	" לי	ילוח
26 ופי כל	As one word.	85 אודי	אלי
31 וישלחם	IX.	30 1 הבה	אודה
33 על כן	עלמן	2 ממך	הבא
35 ותהינה	ותהינה	8 אחותי	ממעיד
27 8 מצוה	מצויה	" אא	אח*תי III.
12 ימשני	ימו*שני IV.	18 אשורני	את
" והבאת	VIII.		אשורני

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
30 14 דוראים	רורים	31 10 עקדים	עקודים
" מדוראי	VII.	" נקקדים	נקדים
15 קחתך	VI. קחת(י)ך	" וברדים	וברורים
" ולקחת	ולקחתי	12 עקדים	III. עק*דים
" עמך	VI. עמ(י)ך	" נקדים	נקודים
" דוראי	רודי	" וברדים	וברורים
16 ברוראי	ברורי	15 נכריות	כנכריות
20 זבולן	זבלון	" מכבנו	מכרנו
26 ילדי	ילדי	19 לגז	III. לג*ז
31 ארעי	ארעה	27 ובכנר	IV. ובכנו(ר)
32 אעברה	IX.	31 כה	כי
" הסיר	VI. הס(י)ר	" בנותך	בנתך
" הטלוא	וטלוא	38 ויחבש	ויחפש
35 העקדים	העקודים	35 "	"
" והטלאים	III. והטל*אים	41 בנתך	III. בנ*תך
" הנקדות	הנקורות	42 ויוכיח	והוכיח
36 עקדים	III. עק*דים	47 שחדותה	שהדותה
" נקדים	נקודים	" גלעד	גל עד
" וברדים	וברורים	48 "	"
" ואיטיב	ואיטב	53 ישפט בנינו	IX.
37 וערמון	II.	55 וישב	וישב
" ברהטים	ברחטים	32 7 וישבו	IV. ויש(ו)בו
38 תבאהן	תבאנה	10 ולמולדתך	ואל מולדתך
" בבאהן	בבאנה	13 אטיב	איטיב
39 נקדים	נקודים	31 פנו אל	As one word(?).
" וטלאים	וטלואים	33 1 הילדים	חילידים
41 ישם	ישים	2 ילידהן	ילידהן
" ברהטים	ברחטים	" וילדיה	וילדיה
42 ישם	ישים	5 (1st & 2d) הילדים	V. היל*דים
" והקשרים	והקשורים	6 וילדינה	V. ויל*דיהן
43 וחמרים	III. וחמ*רים	7 וילדיה	V. ויל*דיה
31 3 אבתך	III. אנ*תך	10 ותרצני	(VI.?) ותרצני
" ואל מולדתך	VII.	13 הילדים	V. היל*דים
6 ואתין	V. ואת*ין	" עאלת	אעלת
" ידעתין	V. ידעת*ין	14 אתנחלה	אתנחלה
" כחי	III. כ*חי	" הילדים	V. היל*דים
" אביכן	V. אביכ*ן	17 סבותה	VIII.
8 (1st & 2d) נקדים	נקודים	34 1 לראות	להראות
" " " עקדים	עקודים	4 הילדה	V. היל*רה
9 אביכן	V. אביכ*ן	5 וחריש	והחריש

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
34 13 אחתם	(IV. ?) אחותם	37 35 שאלה	III. שא* לה
14 אחתנו	אחותנו	38 1 אחיו	X.
21 בנתינו	(III. ?) בנתינו	6 בכרו	בכורו
23 וקנינם	וקניאנם	8 והקים	VI. והקנינם
25 השלשי	השלשי	12 על	IX.
27 אחתם	III. אח* תם	“ וחירא	וחירה
28 (1st) ואת	את	13 לגו	לגו
“ חמריהם	חמוריהם	14	X.
30 להבישני	להבאישני	“ כפתח	כפתע
“ והכני	והכוני	23 נחי	נחיה
31 אחתנו	אחותנו	“ לבו	III. לב* ז
35 2 והחלפו	והחליפו	24 לזנים	IX.
3 ונקום	ונקומה	39 1 שם	שמה
4 אתם	IX.	5 הפקר	VI. הפק(י)ר
9 וירא	VII.	6 אשר ביד	אשר לו ביד
17 ליד	V. ל*ך	15 החוצה (?)	החוצה
21 מהאלה	מהלאה	18 כהרמו	כהרמי
24	IX.	19 אפו	X.
36 6 יעקוב	יעקב	20 (1st & 2d) הסהר	הסחר
13 נחת	נחת	21 “	“
17 (1st) אלה	ואלה	22 (1st & 2d) “	“
“ נחת	נחת	23 “	“
“ זרע	זרח	40 3 “	“
“ שמה	שמח	5 כפתרנו	כפתרון
22 והימם	ואימם	“ הכהר	הסחר
“ לטן	לוטן	9 סר	שר
23 ושפו	שפו	10 שרגים	שרונים
24 החמרים	III. החמ*רים	“ הכשלו	VI. הבש(י)לו
26 דישן	דישון	11 אל	על
28 חוקן	עון	12 השרגים	III. השרגים
39 חדר	הדר	41 2 ובריאות	ובריות
“ מחיטבאל	מחיטבל	“ ותריענה	ותרענה
43 מגדיאל	מגדאל	3 אחריהן	אחרינה
37 7 קמה	VII.	4 והבריאות	והבריות
8 משל	IX.	6 ושדיפות	III. ושדיפ*ת
17 דתינה	III. ד* תינה	“ אחריהן	אחרינה
20 ונשליכהו	ונשלכהו	10 אתם	אתי
23 ויפשוטו	ויפשיטו	11 כפתרנו	כפתרון
24 ריק	VI. ר(י)ק	18 בריאות	בריות
30 אנה	הנה	“ ויפות	III. ויפ*ת

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
41 18 ותריענה	ותרענה	43 24 רגליהם	X.
19 כהן	VII.	" לחמ*ריהם	III.
20 הראישונות	VIII.	25 בצהרים	X.
" והבריות	והבריות	30 חדרה	החדרה
21 ותבאהן	ותבאנה	44 3 וחמריהם	III. וחמ*ריהם
23 אחריהן	אחרינה	4 הרחקו	הרחיקו
25 ויסקף	יוסף	10 נקואים	VIII.
27 אחריהן	אחרינה	13 חמרו	III. חמ*רו
" ושדיפות	III. ושדיפ*ת	" וישובו	וישבו
30 אחריהן	אחרינה	14 ביתה	VII.
32 שנית	VII.	20 ויוליד	ויולד
33 וחכם	וחכום	25 שברו	ושברו
34 פקדים	V. פק*דים	27 אליני	אלינו
35 ישמרו	וישמרו	28 אחד	האחד
39 וחכם	III. וחכ*ם	29 שאלה	III. שא*לה
44 יוסב	יוסף	31 ביאגון	ביגון
50 פוטיפרע (VIII.?)	פוטי פרע	45 1 והוציא	VIII.
" כהנאן	כהן אן	18 כבדי	כבודי
51 נשני	נשאני	21 פי פרעה	IX.
52 הפרני	הפראני	22 (1st & 2d) חליפת	חליפות
54 הרער	הרעב	23 חמרים	III. חמ*רים
56 וישביר	וישבר	46 2 במראת	III. במרא*ת
42 2 אני	הנה	7 בנתו	בנתיו
6 העם	עם	" ובנת	ובנות
17 ויאסף	VIII.	8 בכור	IX.
21 הצרה	VIII.	10 ואהר	VII.
25 סקו	שקו	12 שלה	VII.
26 המריהם	III. חמריהם	" ופרץ	פרץ
27 האחד	VII.	17 אחתם	אחותם
" לחמרו	III. לחמ*רו	20 פוטי פרע (VIII.?)	פוטי פרע
38 שאלה	III. שא*לה	" כהנאן (VIII.?)	כהן אן
43 2 שברו	ושברו	21 ובכר	VIII.
7 היורע	הידוע	" מפים	III. מ*פים
8 טפינו	טפנו	" ואפים	וחפים
12 (2d) בידכם	בידיכם	29 ויראה	וירא
" משנא	משנה	47 4 מרעי	מרעה
16 בנימים	X.	7 ויביא	ויבא
" הבא	הביא	9 ימי חיי	IX. ימי שני חיי
" בצהרים	IX.	" אבתי	אבותי
18 חמרינו	III. חמ*רינו	14 ביתה	VII.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
47 15 כנעך	כנען	49 15 למס	III. למ*ס
17 בסוסים	IX.	17 עלי (1st)	VII.
“ ובחמרים	III. ובחמ*רים	19 הוא	והוא
“ וינהלם	וינהלם	21 שלוחה	III. של*חה
19 ונהי	ונהיה	“ שופר	(III.?) שפר
“ והאמדה	והאדמה	29 אבתי	אבותי
23 אדמתכם	אדמתיםכם	50 5 (1st & 2d) השבעני	השביעני
26 לחמש	לחמוש	6 השבעך	השביעך
30 אבתי	אבותי	10 מספר	IX.
48 4 והרבייתך	והרבייתך	11 ארץ	VII.
15 אבתי	אבותי	“ הכנען	הכנעני
“ מערני	מערדני	“ (2d) למצרים	מצרים
16 אבתי	אבותי	18 אברהם	IX.
“ וידגו לרב	IX.	14 וישוב	וישב
49 3 כחי	III. כ*חי	17	IX.
6 תבא	תבוא	18 לערים	לעכרים
8 ישתחו	VIII.	20 ואתם	אתם
9 גר	גור	25 וישבע	וישביע
10 ומחזק	ומחזקק	26 בארון	III. באר*ן

EXODUS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
1 11 בסבלתם	בסבלותם	2 18 מהרתן	V. מהרת*ן
13 ויעבדו	ויעברו	20 עזבתן	עזבתין
16 וראיתן	V. וראית*ן	3 5 נעלך	V. נעל*ך
17 הילדים	V. היל*דים	“ רגלך	V. רגל*ך
18 עשיתין	V. עשית*ן	6 אבתך	III. אב*תיך
19 המילדת	המילדות	8 ואררה	VIII. & IX.
2 3 בחמר	בחומר	“ והיכוס	VIII.
“ ותשם	VI. ותש(י)ם	9 ישראל	VIII.
4 אחתו	III. אח*תו	11 פרעה	VIII. & IX.
5 ההלכת	הלכת	“ אוצא	אוציא
6 מילדי	מילדי	13 אנכה	אנכי
7 אחתו	III. אח*תו	15 לדוד	IX.
“ ליך (2d)	V. ל*ך	“ ודר	ורור
9 להבת	לה בת	17 הפריז	והפריז
“ הליך	הלכי	“ החוי	והחוי
“ ואינקהו	והינקהו	21 ונתתי	IX.
11 בסבלתם	בסבלותם	4 5 אבתם	אבותם
17 וישען	ויישען	7 השב	השיב

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
4 7 שבע	שבה	9 30 ירעתי	VII. שתי
12 אם	עם	10 1 שמתי	אותתי
21 המפתים	המופתים	" אתתי	ולמען
" אחזק	אחזיק	2 למען	IX.
22 בכרי	בכורי	" יכל	III. אב*תיך
28 שלחו	VIII.	" (1st & 2d) אבתיך	"
" האתות	האותות	6 (1st) "	"
30 "	III. הא*תות	8 וישיב	וישב
5 3 כדרר	כדבר	" אליהה	אליהם
10 ושטריו	ושוטרי	9 ובוקנינו	ובוקנינו
14 שטרי	שוטרי	11 3 הרחם	הרחים
15 "	"	" תסף	III. ת*סף
17 ונזכחה	נזכחה	" בכרי	בכורי
18 ועברו	עברו	" בכרך	III. בכ*רך
19 שטרי	III. ש*טרי	4 כחצות	כחצית
6 7 סבלת	סבלות	5 הרחם	הרחים
14 אבתם	אבותם	6 תסף	תוסיף
15 ואהר	VII.	10 המפתים	המופתים
20 אחתם	אחותם	12 7 המשקף	המשקוף
25 לקח	VIII.	16 ביום	וביום
7 3 אתתי	אותתי	20 וכל	כל
11 בלהטיהם	בלחטיהם	22 המשקף	III. המשק*ף
12 נישלכו	וישלכו	" המזוזות	המזוזות
22 בלהטיהם	VII.	23 המשקף	המשקוף
8 4 בבתי	ובבתי	38 ערברב	ערב רב
" במשארתיך	ובמשארתיך	42 לדרותם	לדרותם
9 להכרת	להכרית	44 כל	וכל
18 בלהטיהם	בלחטיהם	" אז	IX.
26 נזבח	נזבחה	48 הקרב	יקרב
" נזבחה	נזבח	13 7 גבולך	X.
29 אצא	יצא	11 הארץ	ארץ
9 2 מחזק	V. מחז*ק	19 עצמת	IX.
5 "	מחזיק	" עצמתי	עצמותי
8 חפניכם	III. ח*פניכם	14 2 ושובו	וישובו
9 על (3d)	ועל	10 הקרב	הקריב
16 כחי	III. כ*חי	12 ממותינו	ממותנו
19 "	" "	16 מחזק	מחזיק
" הארץ	X.	20 החשך	IX.
" ממטיר	VI. ממט(י)ר	21 ויולך	ויולך
20 אל	IX.	24 ויהם	ויהם

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
14 25 וינחגהו	וינחגהו	18 2 ישלחיה	III. של* חיה
" בכבודות	בכבודות	6 אני	הנה
28 וישובו	IX.	14 נצב	נציב
30 ויושע	ויושע	16 כי	VIII.
" שפת הים	IX.	20 הורעת	והורעת
15 2 וזמרתיה	IX.	23 עמד	IX.
3 גבור	גיבור	25 ושטרים	III. וש* טרים
5 תהומות	III. תהומ* ת	" ושפסתם	IX.
" במזלות	במצלות	19 2 מרפרים	V. מרפ* רים
6 בכח	III. בכ* ח	5 סגלה	סגולה
8 אפיך	IX.	9 לעולם	III. לע* לם
" נזלים	נאזלים	19 10 שמלותם	שמלתם
" קפו	קפאו	11 נכנים	נכונים
" תהומות	III. תהומ* ת	15 "	"
9 תמלאימו	תמלאמו	20 2 הוצאתיך	VI. הוצאת(י)ך
11 באלים	באילים	5 ועל (1st)	VII.
" נדרי	נדארי	" רבעים	רביעים
" נוראה	נורא	7 כי	IX.
16 חימה	אימה	12 יאריכון	יארכון
18 ועוד	IX.	17 ולא (1st)	לא
19 ברכבו	IX.	" וחמרו	III. וחמ* רו
22 ויוציאהו	ויוציאהו	" בהר גריזים	As one word.
25 ויראהו	ויריאהו	" יהוה (2d)	IX.
16 4 ממטיר	V. ממט* ר	19 את (2d)	VII.
14 ככפר	ככופר	" תאכלנו	IX.
18 העדיף	הערף	21 היטיבו	הטיבו
24 הבקר	IX.	" ייטיב	ייטב
" הבאיש	הבאש	" לעולם	לעולם
28 ותורתי	ותורותי	21 5 את (2d)	ואת
29 אל	ואל	10 וענותה	וענתה
33 צנצנת	IX.	15 מכה	VII.
34 וינחהו	ויניחהו	27 יפל	יפיל
36 עשרית	עשירת	30 כפר	III. כ* פר
17 1 ברפרים	VI. ברפ(י)רים	35 או כל	וכל
2 ויאמרו	VIII. & IX.	" או (2d)	IX.
3 "	VII.	" והחצו	וחצו
8 ברפרים	ברפידים	" יחיצון	יחצון
9 אל יהושע	VII.	22 1 וארבעה	וארבע
" נצב	V. נצ* ב	5 שדה (2d)	השדה
16 ודר	VIII.	" מייטב	מיטב

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
22 5 ומייטב	ומייטב	25 30 הנתתה	ונתתה
6 ומצא	VII.	32 (1st & 2d) קנה	קני
" שרה	השרה	33 גביעים	גביעים
" הכערה	V. הבע*רה	" (2d) אחד	IX.
10 נשבה	נשבא	35 והנים	הקנים
14 ומת	או מת	37 חבר	עבר
17 הכתולות	VII.	26 4 הקצונה	הקיצונה
23 ושמע	VII.	10 "	"
24 וחר	וחרה	12 ביריעת	ביריעות
" יתמים	יתומים	18 יריעת	III. יריע*ת
25 כנשיא	כנשא	14 עורת	עורות
30 עמו	אמו	19 (1st & 2d) ירתיו	יתרתיו
31 תשליך	תשליכו	33 שם	שמה
23 4 איבך	IX.	6 ^{2d} שמה	VII.
" חמרו	III. חמ*רו	8 ^{2d} לדרתים	III. לד*רתיכם
" השב	השיב	10 ^{2d} הכפרים	III. הכפ*רים
11 לכרמך	V. לכרמ*ך	27 5 (1st) המזבח	IX.
" ולזיתך	ולזיתך	11 וחשקיהם כסף	X.
19 ביתה	IX.	12 אמה	IX.
22 בקולם	בקולי	19 יתרתו	יתרתיו
24 מצבתיהם	VIII.	28 11 חתם	חותם
27 (1st) את	ואת	" מוסכת	מוסכות
" עליך	אליך	18 נפך	נפיך
28 ואא	ואת	19 ואהלמה	ואהלמה
31 ושאתי	ושתי	20 מוסכת	מוסכות
" (1st) את	IX.	21 חתם	חותם
" ער	VIII.	26 שתה	שתי
33 יחטיאו	יחטאו	" חבר	עבר
24 5 זבחי	זבחים	30 (1st & 2d) הארים	III. הא*רים
6 וחצי	VIII.	" את משפט	IX.
10 ויראו	IX.	36 חתם	חותם
11 אצלי	אצילי	43 חקת	IV. חק(ו)ת
12 לוחת	III. לוח*ת	29 3 אל	על
" להורותם	להורותם	21 השמחה	המשחה
25 5 (1st & 2d) ועורת	ועורות	32 יאכל	יאכלו
12 האחת	האחד	34 הבקר	בקר
14 בטבעות	IX.	36 הכפרים	III. הכפ*רים
16 אל	IX.	40 רבעית	רביעית
21 ואל	VII.	42 שם (1st)	שמה
29 סיכו	יסכו	43 ונקדשו	VIII.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
30 12 כפר	III. כ*פר	34 7 ועל (2d)	על
13 קדש	הקדש	9 לעוננו	לעוננו
15 והל	IX.	11 אשר	IX.
16 הכפרים	III. הכפ*רים	18 ואשריהם	V. ואש*ריהם
21 לדורתם	לדרותם	16 הזנו	והזנו
23 מדרור	מר דרור	" בנך	בניך
34 והלבניה	וחלבניה	24 אורש	אורי'ש
" כרד	כבר	26 ביתה	בית
36 שם	שמה	28 ואכעם	וארכעם
31 2 חורי	אורי	29 סני	סני
7 את (2d)	ואת	" לוחת	III. לוח*ת
10 השרת	השרד	31 וישובה	וישובו
12-14	IX.	35 7 ועורת	III. ועור*ת
16 ושמרו	IX.	11 המשכן	IX.
17 לעלם	לעולם	23 ועורת	III. ועור*ת
18 (1st) לוחת	III. לוח*ת	30 חורי	אורי
" (2d) "	לוחות	36 2 אהליאב	VIII.
" כתבים	כתובים	4 ויבאו	ויביאו
32 6 ויגישו	ויגשו	6 ויעבירו	ויעברו
11 בכח	III. בכ*ח	8 בעשי	VII.
13 זכר	זכור	17 הקצונה	VIII.
15 (1st) לוחת	III. לוח*ת	19 עורת	עורות
" (2d) "	לוחות	" עורות	III. עור*ת
" כתבים (1st & 2d)	כתובים	24 (1st & 2d) ירתיו	יתרתיו
16 יהלוחות	והלוחות	29 היו	IX.
" הלוחות	הלוחות	37 1, 2	IX.
33 5 וכליתך	וכליתך	3 האחת	האחר
6 חורב	חורב	" השני	השנית
7 הרחק	V. הרח*ק	17 המנרה	המנורה
8 והבטו	והביטו	18 (1st & 2d) קנה	קני
10 (2d) עמוד	עמר	19 (1st & 2d) גביעים	גבעים
11 ומשרתו	IX.	20 "	"
13 הודעני	הודיעני	38 8 כני	כנו
16 אפו	אפוא	" במראות	III. במרא*ת
" ונפלנו	ונפלאנו	" הצבאת	הצבאות
18 הראני	הריאני	10 עמוריהם	ועמוריו
19 וחנתי	והחנתי	12 אמה	IX.
34 1 לוחת	לוחות	16 ואדנים	והאדנים
4 (1st) "	"	19 ועמוריהם	עמוריהם
" (2d) "	III. לוח*ת	20 ולהחצר	ולחצר

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
38 22 חורי	אורי	39 23 תחרה	VII.
27 (1st) הכבר	כבר	33 עמדיו	עמדיו
39 8 פחי	פִּיחִי	34 עורת	עורות
" פתלים	פתלים	36 כליו	IX.
6 מוסכת	מוסכות	37 נרתיה	נ*רתיה (V. ?)
11 נפך	נפ(י)ך VI.	" נרות	נר*ת III.
12 ואהלמה	ואחלמה	40 15 לדרתם	לדרותם
13 מוסכת	מוסכות	19 את (3d)	IX.
18 ויתנם	ויתנם	20 אל	VII.
20 "	"	23 אליו	עליו
21 הארים	הא*רים III.	37 ולא	לא

LEVITICUS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
1 2 מן (3d)	ומן	6 20 עשרית	עשירת
6 והפשטו	והפשטו	22 המשח	המשיח
9 וכל	הכל	" יעשה, תקטיר	X.
10 ומן	או מן	23 לא	X.
12 יערך	יעריך	27 יכבם	IX.
2 13 (1st) מנחתך	מנחת*ך V.	7 5 המזבחה	X.
" (2d) "	מנחת(י)ך VI.	6 קדש	X.
8 3 הקרב	IX.	12 לתורה	התורה See also IX.
4 3 המשח	המשיח	21 או נפש	ונפש
5 "	"	23 וכשב	כשב
16 "	"	27 כל (1st)	וכל
18 מזבח (1st)	IX.	30 אתה	אתו
21 כאשר	IX.	35 הקריב	הקריבו
22 תעשינה	תעשינה	36 לדרתם	לדורותם
5 2 או נפש	ונפש	37 ולהחטאת	ולחטאת
" ואשם	IX.	8 7 וילבש	וילביש
6 תת	את	8 הארים	הא*רים III.
11 עשרית	עשירת	14 ויגש	ויגיש
12 המזבח	המזבחה	16 ויקטר	ויקטיר
17 תעשינה	תעשינה	" המזבחה	IX.
6 1 ודבר	וידבר	18 ויגש	ויגיש
4 הפקר	הפק(י)ך VI.	28 ויקטר	ויקטיר
9 הבקר	בקר	9 5 לפני (1st)	אל פני
12 בבקר	בבקר	7 מזבח	המזבח
17 מאשי	VII.	9 ויקרבו	ויקריבו
20 המשח	המשיח	" המזבח	המזבח

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
9 17 ויקטר	ויקטר	13 25 הפך	VII.
20 ויקטר	ויקטר	32 העור	IX.
10 1 ויקרבו	ויקרבו	35 פשה יפשה	IX.
4 דר	III. ד* ד	52 השתה	השתי
" שאו	VII.	56 הכבסו	VIII.
5 בכיתנותם	בכיתנתם	59 עור	העור
6 תמתו	תמותו	14 1 וידבר	וידבר יהוה
7 "	VII.	4 צפרים	צפורים
9 "	תמותו	5 אל (2d)	על
" לדרתיכם	לדורותיכם	6 החיים	VIII.
10 להבריל	ולהבריל	13 קדש	IX.
15 אשי	אשה	25 ולקח	IX.
16 שרף	שרוף	43 ואחרי	IX.
19 אתה	אתי	49 צפרים	צפורים
11 4 וממפרסי See also IX.	וממפרסי	52 ושני	ובשני
5 השפן כי מעלה	IX.	54 וצרעת	הצרעת
10 ובנחלים	ובנחלים	15 5 במים	IX.
16 התחמם	התחמום	10 והנשא	III. והנשא
" השאף	השאף	15 אחד	האחד
19 הדגיפת	III. הדגיפת	" ואחד	והאחד
21 העף	III. העף	16 ואיש	IX.
" כרעים	III. כרעים	" ממנה	ממנו
23 העוף	III. העוף	18 אישה	VIII.
" אברע	ארבע	19 זובה (1st)	IX.
25 הנשא	III. הנשא	21 כל	וכל
28 והנשא	והנושא	24 אישה	VIII.
29 והחצב	והצב	" ותהיה	VIII.
30 והחמט	III. והחמט	" כל	וכל
38 יתן	יתן	27 "	"
40 והנשא	III. והנשא	" בהם	בם
46 נפש	הנפש	31 בטמאת	בטמאתם
47 בין (2d)	ובין	16 3 הקדש	IX.
12 5 שבעים	VIII.	12 מלא	מלוא
13 6 פשע	פשה	" ומלא	ומלוא
7 הראותו	הראתו	" חופניו	III. חפניו
21 בשעת	שבעת	15 את (3d)	את את ¹
22 אם	VII.	" אל (2d)	על
23 השחצן	השחין	18 המורח	המובח

¹ את is written at the end of one line and repeated at the beginning of the next. Cf. Table IX. for other instances of a similar repetition.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
16 21 ידו	ידיו	19 31 האובות	VIII.
" עונת	עונות	" הירענים	III. הירע*נים
22 עונתם	עונותם	35 במשקל	III. במשק*ל
24 (2d) את	The word omitted.	36 מאזני	VII.
27 יוציא	יצא	37 חקתי	חקותי
" ושרפו	ושרף	20 4 יעלימו	יעלמו
" ערתם	עורתם	5 להזנות	לזנות
31 היא	הוא	6 הירענים	III. הירע*נים
17 4 עמיו	עמו	" להזנות	לזנות
5 זבחי	זבחים	8 חקתי	חקותי
7 לדרתם	לדרותם	16 לרבעה	לרבע
10 אתו	IX.	17 (1st & 2d) אחתו	III. אח*תו
" עמו	IX.	20 דרתו	III. ד*רתו
13 בתוככם	VIII.	22 חקתי	חקותי
14 כינפש	כי נפש	26 ואבריל	VI. ואבריל*
15 וכל	VII.	27 או אשה	ואשה
18 3 ובחקותיהם	III. ובחק*תיהם	" וידעני	או ידעוני
4 חקתי	חקותי	21 3 ולאחתו	III. ולאח*תו
5 "	"	5 לא (1st)	ולא
9 אחתך	אחותך	6 אשי	VII.
10 ערותן	V. ערות*ן	" מקריבים	מקריבים
11 אחתך	אחותך	8 קדשתו	וקדשתו
14 דרתך	III. ד*רתך	9 להזנות	IX.
18 אחתה	אחותה	17 לדרתם	לדורותם
23 בה לשמאה	בה לשמאה	22 2 ואל	IX.
26 חקתי	חקותי	19 ובעזים	או בעזים
30 בהן	IX.	21 ובצאן	או בצאן
19 10 תעולל	III. תע*לל	24 מעוך	ומעוך
13 (2d) ולא	לא	25 משחיתים	משחיתים
15 (1st) "	"	29 לרצונכם	לרצונכם
16 (2d) לא	See also IX. ולא	30 ולא	לא
17 הוכח	הוכיח	23 13 ונסכו	ונסכיו
" תוכח	תוכיח	14 הבאכם	הביאכם
" אל	ולא	" לדרתכם	III. לד*רתכם
19 חקתי	חקותי	15 הבאכם	הביאכם
20 חפשי	IX.	17 בכרים	בכורים
" יומת	ימות	19 שני	שנה
25 החמישית	החמישית	20 הבכרים	הבכורים
26 לא	IX.	27 כפרים	כפורים
28 קקע	קעקע	28 "	"

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
23 30 ואבדת' IX.		26 5 ובצ'ר V.	
36 יהוה יהיה		12 והתהלכתה והתהלכתי	
37 ביויו ביומו		13 ואולך ואוליך	
39 וביום IX.		15 אם IX.	
42 ישבו ישב		16 השפחת השפחת	
48 דרתיכם VIII.		" ומדיבות ומידבת	
24 2 נר (V.?) נר		19 עזיכם עזכם	
3 יערך יעריך		20 כחכם III. כחכם	
" אתה אתו		21 במרי קרי	
" לדרתיכם III. לד*רתיכם		" תבוא VIII. & IX.	
4 יערך V. יער*ך		26 והשיבו IX.	
" יהוה לפני יהוה		" ולא IX.	
9 קדשים קדשים		27 בקרי קרי	
12 וינחהו וינחהו		30 גלליכם III. גל*ליכם	
22 לך לכם		31 ניחחכם ניחחכם	
25 5 ספחי ספחי		38 איככם איככם	
" קצירך V. קציר*ך		39 אבותם אבותם	
" נזירך IX.		40 " "	
9 הכפרים הכפורים		41 אלך הלך	
10 יושביה VIII.		48 באשמה VIII.	
11 ספחיה ספיחיה		" חקתי חקותי	
13 ובשנת בשנת		44 מאסתים VI. מאסת(י)ם	
18 חקתי חקותי		" געלתים VI. געלת(י)ם	
20 תבואתינו תבואתנו		27 8 יעריכנו יערכנו	
23 גרים IX.		9 ממנו VII.	
24 לארץ IX.		10 המר המיר	
38 להיות לכם IX.		18 ונגרעה ונגרע	
41 ישוב III. יש*ב		29 יומת ימות	
48 דרו (1st) III. ד*רו		31 וחמישתו חמישתו	
54 לא IX.		38 המר V. המ*ר	
26 5 בצר V. בצ*ר			

NUMBERS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
1 2 אבתם	אבותם	1 18 אבתם	אבותם
6 צורישדי	VII.	20 "	"
10 גמלאל	גמליאל	22 "	"
11 גרעני	גרעוני	" פקודיהם	פקדיהם
12 עמישדי	VII.	23 פדריהם	"
13 פגעאל	פגעיאל	24 אבתם	אבותם
16 אבתם	אבותם	26 "	"

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
1 28 אבתם	אבותם	4 15 כלי	כל כלי
30 "	"	22 אבתם	III. אב*תם
32 "	"	25 ומכסו	מכסו
" במספר	IX.	" מכסה	ומכסה
34 אבתם	אבותם	26 ומשכן	המשכן
36 "	"	29 אבתם	אבותם
38 תולדתם	VIII.	34 "	"
" אבתם	אבותם	38 "	"
" מנב	מבן	40 "	"
40 אבתם	אבותם	42 "	"
42 "	"	46 "	"
44 "	"	48 שמנת אלפים	IX.
47 "	"	49 על (1st)	IX.
51 ובהחנות	ובחנות	" צות	צוה
2 2 באותות	באותות	5 3 מחניהם	את מחניהם
" אבתם	אבותם	8 הכפרים	הכפרים
12 צורישרי	VII.	13 ונעלם	ונעלמה
20 גמלאל	גמליאל	15 עשרית	עשירית
22 גרעני	גרעוני	19 אישך	V. איש*ך
27 פגעאל	פגעיאל	" הנקי	VII.
32 אבתם	אבותם	20 (1st & 2d) אישך	V. איש*ך
3 3 המשחים	IX.	21 והשביע	והשבע
" וכהן	לכהן	" בשבועת	III. בשב*עת
4 בהקרנם	בהקרינם	" אתיך	V. את*ך
5 וידרר	וידבר	" ולשבועה	III. ולשב*עה
6 לבני	לפני	" עמך	VI. עמ(י)ך
15 אבתם	אבותם	" ירכך	V. ירכ*ך
20 "	"	" בטנך	V. בטנ*ך
30 למשפחת	למשפח*ת	" צבא	VII.
33 משפחות	IX.	22 האשה	IX.
36 למשפחת	III. למשפח*ת	23 המרים	המארים
43 ויהיו	ויהיו	24 "	"
46 פדוי	פרוי	" למרים	למארים
47 לגלגלת	III. לגלגל*ת	26 והרים	VII. & IX.
48 העפרים	הערפים	27 למרים	למארים
4 2 אבתם	אבותם	28 ונהתה	VII.
6 ברג	בגר	" ונורע	ונורעה
11 תחש	IX.	29 ואשר	אשר
12 השרת	השרד	6 3 שבר	IX.
14 כל	IX.	5 קדוש	III. קד*ש

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
6 7 ולאחותו	IV. ולאח(ו)תו	10 23 גמלאל	גמליאל
11 וכהן	הכהן	" פרהצור	פריצור
17 נסכו	נסכיו	24 גרעני	גרעוני
7 2 אבתם	אבותם	26 פגעאל	V. פגע*אל
8 ארבעת	ארבע	28 בני	IX.
10 המשח	המשיח	29 והיטיבנו	והטיבנו
11 יקריבו	VII. בן	32 ייטיב	ייטב
29 נב	בן	" והיטיבנו	והיטבנו
41 צורישדי	VII.	33 לתר	לתור
54 גמלאל	גמליאל	35 ויפצו	ויפרצו
60 התשעי	התשעי	" וינסו	וינסו
" גרעני	גרעוני	11 4 יאכלנו	יאכלנו
61 אחר (1st)	אחת	5 הקשויס	הקשוואים
" שניהן	שניהם	" השומים	השוואמים
65 גרעני	גרעוני	10 למשפחותיו	III. למשפח*תיו
71 עמישדי	VII.	" ובעיני	IX.
72 פגעאל	פגעאל	12 תאמק	תאמר
77 "	"	" האמן	הא*מן (III.?)
84 המשח	V. המשיח	15 ואל	IX.
88 "	VI. המש(ו)ח	16 ושטריו	ושוטריו
8 4 פרחיה	פריחיה	18 יאכלנו	יאכלנו
" כמראה	IX.	23 היקראך	VII.
7 הז'	VII.	24 זקני	מזקני
9 והקרבת	IX.	26 בכתבים	בכתובים
19, 20	IX.	29 עם	IX.
26 תעשה	תעשו	31 שלוי	IX.
9 8 זככל	וזככל	32 שחוטה	VIII.
10 לדרתיכם	III. לדר*תיכם	12 5 הענן	VII.
11 ומררים	III. ומר*רים	8 בחידת	בחידות
12 ישאירו	ישאירו	14 הלא	VIII.
" חקת	IV. חק(ו)ת	18 1 אשר (3d)	IX.
13 ואיש	והאיש	3 ויתרו	ויתורו
14 כחקת	IX.	" אבתיו	III. אב*תיו
19 משמבת	משמרת	6 חורי	אורי
22 ימים (1st)	יומים	11 סודא	סודי
23 יחנה	יחנו	17 לתר	III. לת*ר
10 7 בהקהל	ובהקהל	18 "	לתור
8 לדרתיכם	III. לדר*תיכם	19 הרפא	VII.
10 שכיניו	שכניו	20 הוא	IX.
19 צורישדי	צורישדה	" המחבנים	המבחנים

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
18 21 בכרות	III. בכור* ת	14 40 עלינו	ועלינו
22 ויתרו	ויתורו	43 יהיה	VIII.
" חמתה	VII.	45 וישובו	III. ויש* בו
23 ילידי	VI. יל(י)די	15 4 ברבעית	ברבעית
25 האשכל	האשכול	5 רבעית	רביעית
" אשר	IX.	9 עשרנים	III. עשר* נים
26 וישובו	וישבו	11 בכשבים	IX.
" מתר	מתור	14 לדרת'כם	III. לר* רתיכם
30 וחכנעני	והכנעני	16 ולגב	ולגר
32 עלות	VII.	20 עריסתיכם	ערסתיכם
33 לתר	לתור	23 לדרת'כם	III. לר* רתיכם
" אנשים	אנשי	24 לשגנה	בשגנה
34 ונהי	ונהיה	27 והקרבה	והקריבה
" כהגבים	כחגבים	29 ישראל	ישראל
" וברבר	והברבר	33 ויקריבו	ויקרבו
" לתר	לתור	36 ויוציאו	ויוצאו
14 2 ויאמרו	VIII.	38 לדרתם	III. לר* רתם
3 יהיו	IX.	" ציצת	See also IX. ציצית
" לבז	לבז	39 לציצות	לציציות
" שוב	VII.	" תתרו	תתורו
6 האתרים	III. האת* רים	16 5 וידבר	IX.
7 לתר	לתור	9 לעמד	IX.
" אתה טובה	IX.	13 תשתרר	תשתורר
8 הארץ	ארץ	" עלינה	עלינו
11 אנה	הנה	" השתרר	השתורר
13 בכחך	III. בכ* חך	14 הביאתנו	הבאתנו
14 שמעו	VIII.	" אנשים	האנשים
15 אחד	האחד	22 אחד	האחד
17 כח	III. כ* ח	26 סרו	סורו
18 רבעים	רביעים	29 ימתון	ימותון
19 אנה	הנה	30 יברא	See also VII. יברא
22 אתתי	אותתי	" ופשתה	ופצתה
23 לאבתם	לאבותם	" שאלה	III. שא* לה
25 וסעו	סעו	33 "	"
" דרך ים סוף	IX.	35 מקרבי	מקריבו
27 בני ישראל	IX.	38 הקריבים	הקריבום
31 לבז	VIII.	42 ויראה	VII.
36 לתר	לתור	48 המתים	המיתים
" וישובו	וישבו	49 (1st & 2d) "	"
38 לתר	לתור	50 וישוב	וישב

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
17 3	אבותם	21 27	ותתכונן
4	שם	29	פלטים VI. פל(י)טים
6	אבותם	30	ועד (2d)
8	ויצא	32	בנתיה III. בנ*תיה
"	שקירים	33	לקראתם IX.
18 7	עבדה	22 6	נכה IX.
"	ומתנה	12	עמם VII.
12	תירוש	18	או זהב
24	ובתוך	19	ואדע
19 3	ושחט	21	אתנו III. את*נו
9	אפר	22	" "
10	ולגר	23	נצב V. נצ*ב
12	הוא	24	במשעל
13	IX.	26	עבור
18	בקבר	"	ויעמוד
21	ומז' VII.	30	הלוא IV. הלווא
20 5	תאנה VII.	31	נציב
"	וגפן	32	אתוך III. את*ך
6	ורא VII.	34	נציב VI. נצי*ב
11	ותשתי VII.	"	רעה VII.
13	וכגברתיך V. וכגבורת*ך	39	ויביאהו
"	אעברה IX.	"	חיצות
"	תשבירו	23 6	נציב V. נצ*ב
21	נתן	10	מי מנה עפר מעפר
24	פי	"	ומספר VIII.
21 1	האתרים III. האת*רים	"	את The word omitted.
2	נתן	"	מרבוע מרבעת
"	וחרמתי	11	לקב IX.
6	השרפים III. השר*פים	17	נציב
11	במדבר	18	קומה
"	בם IX.	"	ושמעה VII.
13 ¹ twice	היוצא... בין Once only.	19	אדם VII.
15	הנחילם	21	בישאל
18	כראוה	22	כתעפת
"	במחוקק	30	ההמזבח
"	ובמשענותם VIII.	24 4	שרי
19	נחלאל	"	יחזי
"	ומנחלאל	6	נטעי
22	נלך	8	כתעפת

¹ Doubtless a printer's double of eight words.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
24 12 הלוא	VIII.	26 57 פקדי	IV. פקודי
13 עבור	IX.	59 אחתם	אחותם
16 מחוי	מחזה	63 פקדי	IV. פקודי
" שרה	VII.	27 1 למשפחת	למשפחות
" יחוי	יחזה	4 תנו	IX.
17 ומחין	IX.	5 ויקריב	ויקרב
18 (1st & 2d) ירושה	ירשה	7 נתון	נתן
23 אוי	III. א**	9 נחלתו	See also IX. נחלתו
24 יענו	VIII.	14 פי	פי
" ויענו	VIII.	17 רעי	רעה
25 וילך	IX.	19 בעיניהם	לעיניהם
" וישוב	וישב	28 5 ועשרית	ועשרית
25 1 להונות	לזנות	6 העשויה	IX.
8 ויצמד	IX.	7 וגסכו	וגסכיו
7 היקח	ויקח	9 "	VIII.
14 הישראל	ישראל	11 תמימם	תמימים
15 כזבית	VII.	26 הבכרים	III. הבכרים
18 כזבי	VII.	" בהקריבכם	בהקריבכם
" אחתם	אחותם	29 2 איל	VII.
26 1 אחרי	אחר	20 עשתי	עשתה
2 אבתם	אבותם	" שנים	IX.
7 משפחות	IV. משפחות	39 לעלתים	III. לעל* תיכם
10 לנס	לנוס	30 2 צוה	IX.
12 למשפחת	III. למשפח* ת	3 היוצא	VIII.
" הימיני	IX.	6 (1st & 2d) הנא	הניא
15 למשפחתם	למשפחותם	" ינא	יניא
" השוי	השוני	" יהוה	ויהוה
24 ליושב	ליושב	9 הנא	יניא
" היושבי	היושבי	" והפר	V. והפר
25 ושלש	IX.	11 בשבועה	III. בשב* עה
30 לחלק	וחלק	12 הנא	הניא
34 משפחת	משפחות	13 הפר	הפיר
38 לאשבאל	לאשביל	" הפרם	הפירם
" האשבאלי	האשבלי	15 (1st & 2d) חריש	החריש
41 לפקדיהם	ופקדיהם	" והקם	והקים
42 (1st) אלה	ואלה	" הקם	הקים
47 לפקדיהם	IX.	16 הפר	VI. הפיר
51 פקדי	IV. פקודי	31 2 אל	IX.
55 אבתם	אבותם	3 החלצו	VI. החלצו
" יתנחלו	IX.	14 פקדי	III. פק* די

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
31 15 החי"תם	החיתם	38 29 ממתיקה	VI. ממת(י)קה
18 חיז	החיז	30 במסירות	במסרות
19 ושבתכם	ושביתכם	31 ממסירות	ממסרות
21 את	IX.	40 הכפעני	הכנעני
28 החמרים	III. החמ"רים	52 משכיתם	משכיותם
30 "	" "	54 ולמעט, על	IX.
34 וחמרים	III. וחמ*רים	55 את	את כל
38 ובקר	IX.	34 4 חצר	אצר
44 והבקר	IX.	5 תוצאתו	תוצאתו
47 אחז	האחז	6 לכס	IX.
" אחר	האחר	8 חמטה	VIII.
" אל הלויים	ללויים	" תוצאתו	תוצאתו
48 הפקדים	III. הפק*דים	9 "	"
54 ויביאו	ויבאו	11 הרבלה	הארבלה
32 3 ושבמה	VIII.	12 תוצאתו	תוצאתו
5 תעברנו	תעבירנו	14 (1st & 2d) אבתם	אבותם
10	IX.	" לבית אבתם וחצי	IX.
14 אבתיכם	III. אב*תיכם	35 1 אל (2d)	על
17 הביאנום	הביאנום	5 פאת (3d)	IX.
" המבצר	V. המבצ*ר	6 ועליהם	ועליהן
" יושבי	ישבי	16 וימת	IX.
20 (2d) אם	VII.	17 ימות	יומת
22 תשובון	VIII.	19 הוא (1st)	IX.
" נקואים	נקוים	20 "	או
27 יעברו	IX.	28 מות (2d)	IX.
28 האבות	אבות	31 כפר	III. כ*פר
33 (1st) ממלכת	ממלכ(ו)ת (IV.?)	32 "	" "
" (2d) "	ממלכות	36 1 למשפחת	למשפחות
" בגבולת	בגבולות	8 נחלתן	V. נחלת*ן
35 ויגבחהה	VII.	" אבתינו	III. אב*תינו
36 מכצר	מכציר	" תהיינה	תהינה
38 בעלמון	בעל מעון	4 אבתינו	III. אב*תינו
" מוסבת	מוסבות	" נחלתן (2d)	V. נחלת*ן
33 8 מרעמסם	IX.	8 יהיה	תהיה
7 מגדל	IX.	9 תסוב	תסב
8 ימים	VIII.	11 דריהן	III. ד*ריהן
14 ברפרים	ברפי*דים	12 נחלתן	V. נחלת*ן
15 מרפרים	מרפי*דים	13 ירן	ירן
28 במתיקה	VI. במת(י)קה		

DEUTERONOMY.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
1 7 שכניו	שכניו	4 39 והשיבת	והשבות
" בהר	IX.	" על	אל
11 אבותיכם	אבותיכם	41 יברל	יבריל
19 ונבוא	III. ונב* א	42 לגם	לגום
20 אליכם	IX.	43 בצר	בוצר
" אלהינו	IX.	" רימות	רמות
28 וערים	ערים	" למנשי	VII.
32 וברבר	והברבר	47 ויירשו	IX.
33 לתר	לתור	49 אשדת	אשרות
38 אחזק	החזק	5 9 תשתחוי	תשתחוה
39 לבז	III. לב* ז	" ועל	VII.
40 לכם וסעו	וסעו לכם	" רבעים	רביעים
44 תעשיהן	תעשינה	14 וחמרך	III. וחמ* רך
2 1 ונסב	ונסוב	15 ויוצאך	ויוציאך
5 מדרך כף	IX.	16 יאריכון	יארכון
6 תשבירו	תשברו	21 וחמורו	III. וחמ* רו
7 המדבר	IX.	" בהר גריזים	As one word.
" נלך	IX.	" היושב	IV. היו(ו)שב
" נסור	IX.	22 לוחת	III. לוח* ת
8 מאלית	מאילת	29 לעלם	III. לע* לס
10-12	IX.	6 9 מזות	מזות
23 היושבים	הישובים	22 אתות	אותות
26 קדימות	קדמות	" ומופתים	III. ומ* פתים
30 תת	את	7 4 וחר	VIII.
36 לא היתה	IX.	5 ואשריהם	V. ואש* ריהם
8 4 ארגב	הארגב	" ופסליהם	ופסיליהם
5 הערים	ערים	6 סגלה	III. סג* לה
6 לסיחן	לסיחון	8 מאהבות	מאהבת
17 אשדת	אשרות	" השבועה	III. השב* עה
23 ואתחנן	ואתחננה	9 הוא	IX.
24 וכגבורתך	V. וכגבורת*ך	18 דגניך	VI. רגנ(ו)ך
26 ולא	IX.	" אשר... יהוה	IX.
4 6 חכום	IV. חכ(ו)ם	19 והמפתים	IV. וחמ(ו)פתים
13 לוחת	III. לוח* ת	25 פסלי	פסילי
18 דנה	VII.	8 3 אבתך	III. אב* תך
34 ובמפתים	III. ובמ* פתים	7 יוצאים	יצאים
37 אבתך	III. אב* תך	10 אל	על
" ובכחו	III. ובכ* חו	11 וחקתיו	III. וחק* תיו
38 ועצמים	ועצומים	17 כחי	III. כ* חי

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
8 17 ועצם	III. ועצ*ם	12 5 שמה	שם
18 כח	III. כ*ח	11 שם (2d)	שמה
" ולמען	VII.	13 עלתיך	עלת(ו)יך VI.
20 אלהיכם	IX.	14 "	עלת*יך V.
9 1 ועצומים	IV. ועצ(ו)מים	15 יאכלנו	IX.
4 מורשם	מורישם	17 לאלך	לאכל
5 "	"	" דגניך	VI. דגנ(ו)יך
7 זכר	זכור	" תירושך	תירשך
8 להשמיד	IX.	20 אלהים	אלהיך
9 בעלתי	בעלותי	18 5 אתכם	The word omitted.
" (2d) לוחת	לוחות	6 ואבתיך	III. ואב*תיך
10 כתבים	כתובים	8 לא (2d)	ולא
11 לוחת	III. לוח*ת	9 תהגרנו	תהרגנו
13 קשי	קשה	11 יוסיפו	יוספו
15 לוחת	III. לוח*ת	13 בליעל	בלעיל
17 ואשלכם	ואשליכם	14 2 סגלה	סגולה
19 יהוה (1st)	IX.	5 אקו	ואקו
26 אל	IX.	6 וכל	כל
27 זכר	זכור	7 ממעלה	ממעלי
" קשי	IX.	" וממפרים	וממפרים
29 בכחך	III. בכ*חך	" מעלה	מעלי
10 1 לוחת	III. לוח*ת	15 התחמם	התחמום
8 "	" "	" השאף	השחף
7 נחליה	נחלי	18 הרגיפת	הרגיפת
11 לאנתם	לאכותם	19 וכל	כל
12 ליראת	ליראה	23 דגניך	דגנך
" אה	את	27 לה	לו
15 באבתיך	III. באב*תיך	15 5 לעשות	ולעשות
17 והגבור	והגיבור	6 והעבסת	IX.
22 אבתיך	III. אב*תיך	" תעבט	IX.
11 8 אתתיו	אותותיו	8 והעביט	העביט
8 את (1st)	את כל	9 בליעל	בלעיל
12 הארץ	ארץ	18 חפשי	VII.
14 דגניך	דגנך	19 הבכור	(IV.?) הבכ(ו)ר
20 מזות	מזות	" בבכור	(IV.?) בכ(ו)ר
22 ולדבקה	ולהדבקה	" בכור	(IV.?) בכ(ו)ר
23 והורש	והוריש	16 9 בקמה	VII.
29 הר גרזים	As one word.	18 שפטים	III. ש*פטים
30 היושב	הישב	" ושטרים	III. וש*טרים
12 5 לשכינו	לשכנו	17 12 בידון	VI. ב(ו)ידון

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
17 12	ואל	22 4	נפלים IX.
20	ראם IX.	9	תקדוש VI. תקדוש
"	ממלכתו	19	בתולות בתולות
18 1	אשה	21	להזנות לזנות
3	והלחם	29	השכב See also IX. השכב
4	דגניך	"	ענהה VII.
8	יאכל IX.	30	לא (2d) ולא
10	מעביר	23 4	בצאתכם IX.
11	המתים	6	וטובתם וטובותם
12	מורשם	"	לעולם III. לע*לם
14	ירשים IX.	8	יולדו יולדו
15	אליו	14 (1st & 2d)	מחנך מחנך
16	אוסף	16	בטוב IX.
22	הדבר IX.	17	קדישה קדשה
"	בזידון V. בז*רון	"	קדיש קדש
"	תגורו	22	כי וכי
19 3	ינחלך	24 4	תחטאו תחטאו
5	ביער (III.?) ביע*ר	8	צויתם צויתם
"	ונשל IX.	11	יוצא VIII.
7	תברל	13	השב השיב
17	אנשים	14	מגריך V. מגר*ך
"	ולפני	16 (1st & 2d)	ימתו ימותו
"	והשפטים III. והש*פטים	21	תעלל תעולל
18	השפטים III. הש*פטים	25 3	להכותו להכתו
21	רגל	15	יהיה יהיה
20 5	השטרים III. הש*טרים	"	יארכון יארכון
8	"	17	זכר זכור
9	"	18	הנחשלים הנשלים
10	וקראתה	26 8	ובמפתים ובמופתים
11	למם	14	באנוני III. בא*ני
18	תועבתם	15	קדשך V. קדש*ך
19	לבוא... במצור IX.	18	סגלה III. סג*לה
21 2	ושטריך	27 4	חירדו חירדו
3	בעול	9	נהית נהיתה
11	ולקחתה VII.	10	חקתיו III. חק*תיו
14	עניתה VI. ענני*תה	22	אחתו (III.?) אחתו
17	הבכרה	28 7	ההמים ההמים
20	וסובה	"	ובשבע VIII.
23	תלאי	12	לברך ולברך
22 1	השב השיב	18	ועשתרת ועשתרות

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
28 20 השמידוך	השמירך	28 63 אאכס	אתכס
" האבירוך	אבירך	68 באוניות	III. בא*ניות
22 יכך	IX.	29 3 והמפתים	והמופתים
24 השמידוך	השמירך	5 ואולך	ואולך
25 ובשבע	ובשבעה	8 המנשי	המנשה
" ממלכת	ממלכות	9 תשכלו	תשכילו
27 יכך	IX.	10 ושטריכס	III. וש*טריכס
" ובהרס	ובחרס	11 מחנך	מחניך
28 יכך	IX.	12 להעברך	לעברך
31 חמרך	חמורך	15 אשר (1st)	VIII.
" גזול מלפניך ולא	IX.	17 גלליהם	III. גל*ליהם
33 ופרי	פרי	19 הרוחה	הרוה
35 יככה	VII.	20 לא	VII.
36 יולך	יולך	21 הכתובים	הכתובה
39 תנאר	תאנר	23 וצבאים	III. וצב*אים
40 ישלו	ישל	25 אבתם	אבותם
" זיתך	VI. זית(י)ך	28 אחרית	אחרת
41 תולר	תוליד	29 והנגלאו	VII.
42 יורש	יוריש	30 1 והשיבות	והשבות
48 איכך	VI. איב(י)ך	" על	אל
51 האבירוך	אבירו	10 וחקתיו	III. וחק*תיו
53 יציקו	יציק	16 וללכת	ללכת
54 יותיר	יותר	20-34:12	X.
55 שערך	IX.		

The manuscript has none of the headings of books and sections found in Blayney's edition nor are the initial letters of the books of extraordinary size. The punctuation and the division into paragraphs are not identical with those of the printed text but a detailed statement of the difference is beyond the scope of this collation.

TABLE II.

The only place where two readings are actually given is Gen. 30:37. See *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IX., p. 223.

TABLES III., IV., V. AND VI.

It is not deemed necessary to reprint these Tables apart from Table I. There the text which the scribe preferred is given at length and the secondary readings are indicated by asterisks and parentheses, the former denoting the insertion of a ך or a ך, as the case may be, and the latter the omission of the inclosed letters.

TABLE VII.

GENESIS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.			Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.
4 4	ומחלביהן	¹ B. ומחלבינה		25 4	עיפה	B. איפה(?)	
10 15	חת	החת	B.	11	ראי	ראה	B.
12 15	ביתה	B.	בית	28 6	ויצו	ויצוו	B.
16	עבדים	ועבדים	B.	30 14	מדוראי	B.	מדורי
14 1	ואריוך	אריוך	B.	31 3	ואל מולדתך	B.	ולמולדתך
5	בהם	B.	בחס	35 9	וירא	ויראה	B.
"	² בשורה			37 7	קמה	קאמה	B.
8	היא	הוא	B.	41 19	כהן	B.	כהנה
17	² השורה			82	שנית	השנית	B.
24	אשכול	B.	ואשכול	42 27	האחר	B.	אחר
16 14	ראי	B.	ראה	44 14	ביתה	B.	בית
19 9	אחר	האחר	³ B.	46 10	ואהר	B.	ואחר
17	ההרה	ההר	B.	12	שלה	B.	ושלה
28 (1st)	הארץ	B.	ארץ	47 14	ביתה	B.	בית
22 5	נלכה	נלך	B.	49 17	^(1st) עלי	עלה	B.
24 46	השקתה	B.	אשקתה	50 11	ארץ	הארץ	B.

EXODUS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.			Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.
6 15	ואהר	B.	ואחר	22 6	ומצא	ומצאה	B.
7 22	בלהטיהם	B.	בלחטיהם	17	הבתולות	B. (?) בתולות	
9 30	ידעתי	B.	ידעת	23	ושמע	שמע	B.
17 3	ויאמרו	B.	ויאמר ⁵	25 21	ואל	B.	ועל
9	אל יהושע	ליהושע	B.	26 6 ¹⁴	שמה	B.	שם(?)
20 5	^(1st) ועל	על	B.	36 8	בעשי	בעשאי	B.
19	^(2d) את	ואת	B.	39 23	תחרה	B.	תחרא
21 15	מכה	ומכה	B.	40 20	אל	B.	על

¹ B = reading of Blayney's edition.² These two entries should have been omitted from Table I.³ The mark perhaps accidental.⁴ The mark perhaps unfinished or accidental.⁵ Cf. Ex. 17:2 in Table IX. A.

LEVITICUS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.			Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.
6 17	מאשי	B.	מאשה	17 15	וכל	B.	כל
10 4	שאו	B.	ושאו	19 36	מאזני	B.	מחזני(?)
7	תמתו		תמותו תמותון	21 6	אשי	B.	אשה
13 22	אם	B.	ואם	27 9	ממנו	B.	ממנה
25	הפק	B.	הפקה				

NUMBERS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.			Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.
1 6	צורישדי	B.	צורישדה	16 30	יבכא	B.	יברה
12	עמישדי	B.	עמישדה	42	ויראה	B.	וירא
2 12	צורישדי	B.	צורישדה	19 21	ומזי	(?)B.	ומזה
5 19	הנקי	B.	הנקיא	20 5	האנה	B.	ותאנה
21	צבא	B.	צבה	6	וירא	B.	ויראה
26	והרים	B.	הרים(?)	11	ותשתי	B.	ותשתה
28	ונקתה	B.	ונקאתה	22 12	עמם	B.	עמהם
7 11	יקריבו	B.	ויקריבו	34	רעה	(?)B.	רע
41	צורישדי	B.	צורישדה	23 18	ושמע	B.	ושמע
71	עמישדי	B.	עמישדה	19	אדם	B.	האדם
11 23	היקראך	B.	היקרך	24 16	שרה	B.	שרי
12 5	הענן	B.	ענן	25 15	כזבית	B.	כזבי
13 19	הרפא	B.	הרפה	18	כזבי	B.	כזבית
22	חמתה	B.	חמת	29 2	איל	B.	ואיל
32	עלות	B.	לעלות	32 20	אם (2d)	B.	ואם
14 8	שוב	B.	שובה	35	ויגבחה ויגבחהה	(?)	ויגביהוה

DEUTERONOMY.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.			Reading Given.	Reading Indicated.
4 18	דגה	B.	דגי	21 11	ולקחתה	B.	ולקחת
43	למנשי	B.	למנשה	22 29	ענהה	B.	ענה
5 9	ועל	B.	על	28 35	יככה	B.	יכך
8 18	ולמען	B.	למען	29 20	לא	B.	ולא
15 18	חפשי	B.	חפשה	29	והנגלאו	B.	והנגלאות
16 9	בהמה	B.	בקאמה				

In Tables VIII. and IX. reference will be found to some other places in which secondary readings were indicated.

TABLE VIII.

The additions are inclosed in parentheses. They are interlineations except where otherwise stated. "1st" denotes the first scribe and "2d" another hand, no attempt being here made to discriminate between the work of perhaps several later scribes. Where the additions are in exactly the same ink as the surrounding text "a" is added; while these changes *may* have been made immediately after the writing of the word affected, it should be borne in mind that the first writer used the same kind of ink throughout the volume, although its transcription occupied considerable time. No account is taken of the text supplied on paper in many places principally by the writer of the Arabic colophon. See also Table IX.

GENESIS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex. Readings. Author of Change.	Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex. Readings. Author of Change.
15 7	הוצאתיך הוצאתיך	1st; a.	42 17	ויאסף	ויאסף (א) Prob. 1st.
10	בתור	" "	21	הצרה	הצרה (ע) 1st.
21 16	כמטחוי	" "	44 10	נקואים	נקואים 1st; a.
25 23	הצעיר	" "	45 1	והוציא	והוציא (ו) " "
27 12	והבאת (י)	Prob. 1st.	46 20	פוטפרע	4
29 16	הקטנה	1st; a.	"	כהנאן	5
33 17	סכותה	" "	21	ובכר	ובכר (ו) 1st; a.
41 20	הראישונות	" "	49 8	ישתחוו	ישתחוו (ו) Prob. 1st.
50	פוטפרע ³				

EXODUS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex. Readings. Author of Change.	Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex. Readings. Author of Change.
3 8	וארדה	? (וארדה)	18 16	כי	כי (ו) Prob. 1st.
"	והיבוס	והיבוס ⁸	23 24	מצבתיהם	מצבתיהם ¹² " "
9	ישראל	ישראל (י) ⁸ 2d.	31	ער	ער ^{14, 13} (ו) " "
11	פרעה	See Table IX. B.	24 6	וחצי	See Table IX. C.
4 28	שלחו	? שלחו (ו)	29 43	ונקדשו	ונקדשו ^{16, 15} (ו) Prob. 1st.
6 25	לקח	(לקח) Prob. 1st.	36 2	אהליאב	אהליאב 1st; a.
17 2	ויאמרו	See Table IX. A.	17	הקיצונה	הקיצונה " "
16	ודר	ודר ¹⁰ (ו) Prob. 1st.			

^{1, 2} and ⁵ A mark over the interlineated letter, contemporary with it, indicating its omission for a secondary reading.

^{3, 4, and 5} Perhaps each of these expressions was at first written as one word and the dots which separate them into two, as given in Table I., subsequently inserted by the first scribe. פופיטרע appears as one word in Gen. 41:45 and כהנאן as one in Gen. 41:45, but as two in v. 50.

⁷ The י prefixed, not interlineated. Its insertion was at the first writing indicated for a secondary reading.

⁸ The י was doubtless placed where it is by mistake. The intention was evidently to change ויהיבוס, v. 8, to ויהיבוס; the ה is above the ל.

^{9, 11, 12, 13, 15} Inserted in line, not interlineated.

^{10 and 16} The insertion of the letter added was at the first writing indicated for a secondary reading.

¹⁴ The writer of the י indicated its omission for a secondary reading.

LEVITICUS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Readings.	Author of Change.			Readings.	Author of Change.
12 5	שבעים	שב(ו)עים	1st; a.	17 13	בתוככם	בתוכ(כ)ם	Prob. 2d.
13 56	הכבסו	הכבס(ו)	Prob. 1st.	19 31	הא(ו)כות	הא(ו)כות	1st; a.
14 6	החיים	(ה)חיים	?	23 43	ד(ו)ר(ו)תים	ד(ו)ר(ו)תים	1st; ?a.
15 18	אישה	איש(ה)	1st; a.	25 10	ישביה	י(ו)שביה	1st; a.
24	אישה	איש(ה)	Perhaps 1st.	26 21	תבוא	See Table IX. A.	
"	ותהיה	ותהי(ה)	Same as of last preceding.	43	באשמה	ב(ו)אשמה	1st; a.

NUMBERS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Readings.	Author of Change.			Readings.	Author of Change.
1 38	תולדתם	תולד(ת)ם	?	24 12	הלוא	הל(ו)א	1st ?
11 32	שחוטת	שחוט(ה)ה	Prob. 1st.	24	יענו	יענ(ה)ו	1st; a.
12 14	הלא	הל(ו)א	2d ?	"	ויענו	ויענ(ה)ו	" "
14 2	ויאמרו	ויאמר(ו)	1st; a.	28 9	ונסכו	ונסכ(ו)ו	" "
14	שמעו	(ו)שמעו	" "	30 3	היצא	היוצא	" "
31	לבו	לבו(ו)	" "	32 3	ושבמה	ושבמ(ה)ה	" "
43	יהיה	יהיה(ה)	1st ?	22	תשובון	תשוב(ו)ן	?
21 18	ובמשענותם	ובמ(ש)ענותם	Prob. 2d.	33 8	ימים	ימים(ה)	1st.
23 10	ומספר	ומספ(ר)ו	Prob. 1st.	34 8	חמתה	חמת(ה)ה	1st; a.

DEUTERONOMY.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Readings.	Author of Change.			Readings.	Author of Change.
7 4	וחר	וחר(ה)	1st ?	28 7	ובשבע	ובשב(ע)ה	1st; a.
24 11	יצא	יצא(ה)	1st ?	29 15	אשר	אשר	" "

¹ The addition of a ך for a secondary reading was probably indicated at the first writing.

² ⁴, ⁷ and ¹³ A mark over the interlineated letter, contemporary with it, indicating its omission for a secondary reading.

³, ⁶, ⁹ and ¹¹ The insertion of the letter added was at the first writing indicated for a secondary reading; probably so also at ¹⁴ and ¹⁶.

⁵, ⁸ and ¹⁰ Inserted in margin.

¹⁰ Inserted in line.

¹² The interlineated ך has been erased.

TABLE IX.

A. Letter erased and no other put in its place.

This section includes the words from which letters have been removed, either by scratching or by washing out, without the substitution of others. The letters erased are inclosed in brackets. "Sec." denotes that the shorter text was indicated as a secondary reading by the original scribe. It is of course difficult to assign a simple erasure to its maker. The manuscript, however, affords proof that the changes in Ex. 17:2, Lev. 21:9 and Num. 11:15 at least were made by the first hand.

GENESIS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
4 25 וידע	ידע	25 8 עמו	Sec. עמיו
15 16 ישוב	ישובו	27 28 ויתן	" [ו]יתן
17 6 ומלכים	ומלא or תלכים	29 7 גדול	" [ת]גדול
16 ומלכי	ומלא or תכי	30 32 אעברה	?Sec. אעברנה
19 26 אמלט	Sec. אמלטנה	37 8 משל	?Sec. משנהל
26 ותהי	" ותהינה	38 24 לזנים	?Sec. לזוננים
21 7 הינקה	?Sec. הינלקה		

EXODUS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
3 15 לדור	לדור	16 24 הבקר	[ב]הבקר
10 2 יכל	Sec. יוכל	17 2 ויאמרו	1
12 44 אז	" [א]אז	18 23 עמר	עמור
13 19 עצמת	עצמות	23 4 איבך	איכור
14 20 החשך	[ח]החשך	19 ביתה	ביתה
28 וישובו	וישוכו	25 33 (2d) אחר	Sec. [ה]אחר
15 2 חזרתיה	Sec. חזרתיה	27 12 אמה	?Sec. [ה]אמה
8 אפיך	" אפיך	38 12 אמה	[ב]אמה
18 ועור	ועור		

LEVITICUS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
4 18 (1st) מזבח	Sec. [ה]מזבח	25 5 מזיריך	מזיריך
15 19 (1st) זובה	זובה	26 15 אם	[א]אם
21 9 להזנות	Sec. לזנות	21 תבוא	2
23 30 ואברתי	Sec. [ו]האברתי	26 והשיבו	והשיבו

¹ The facts seem to show that the word was first written without the final י, that י was then added and that subsequently the י was erased but its addition indicated as a secondary reading, all by the first hand. Cf. Ex. 17:3 in Table VII.

² The original reading was תבוא (or תבתי) but an א has been interlineated by a second (?) hand and the original א (or ת) erased, making the text read תבוא.

NUMBERS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
9 14	כחק[ות] Sec.	24 13	עבור עבנור
11 15	ואל ¹	17	ומחין [חמחין]
29	עם Sec. [העם]	25 3	ויצמד ויצמר[ו]
31	שלו [שליום]	28 6	העשויה העשותיה
15 38	ציצת [ציציו]ת	31 38	ובקר ותובקר
16 9	לעמר [לעמר]	44	והבקר ?Sec. ותובקר
20 13	אעברה ?Sec. [אעברה]	33 7	מגדל מגד[ו]ל
23 11	להב Sec. לק[וב]		

DEUTERONOMY.

Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney's Edition.	Watson Codex.
15 6	תעבט תעבנט	28 22	יכך Sec. ככה
17 20	ראם ?Sec. ראם	27	" " "
18 8	יאלל יאללו	28	" " "

B. Letter changed into or substituted for another.

Erasure and addition, either singly or combined, were used to transform one letter into another in the places here referred to. "B," "1st" and "2d" have the same signification as in Tables VII. and VIII.

GENESIS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney.	Watson Codex.
	Original Reading.	Present Reading.	Original Reading.
14 2	היא	הוא 2d B.	פ' פרעה 2d B.
38 12	על	B. 2d אל	פרעה

EXODUS.

Ch. Vs. Blayney.	Watson Codex.	Ch. Vs. Blayney.	Watson Codex.
	Original Reading.	Present Reading.	Original Reading.
3 11	פרעה	B. 2	אל על 3
9 20	אל	על 2d B.	והרל וחדל 4

¹ At first אל but the ל erased and a small ל added by the first hand after the א, making the text read as in Blayney.

² A second hand added a stroke turning the פ into a ב but cancelled his work.

³ Changed by a second hand to אל and then changed back to על by the same person; the first scribe probably indicated אל as a secondary reading.

⁴ Perhaps there was an attempt made to change the original וך into וך.

LEVITICUS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Original Reading.	Present Reading.			Original Reading.	Present Reading.
6 27	יכבם	תכבם	Prob. 1st B.	18 30	בהן	בהם ³	Prob. 1st B.
17 10	אתו	אתה	¹ B. ? 1st	19 20	חפשי	חפשה ⁴	B.
"	עמו	עמה	² B. ? 1st	25 24	לארץ	הארץ ⁵	1st B.

NUMBERS.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Original Reading.	Present Reading.			Original Reading.	Present Reading.
14 3	יהיו	יהיה ⁶	? 1st B.	26 47	לפקריהם	ופקריהם	B.
21 33	לקראתם	לקראתנו	1st B.	55	יתנחלו	תתנחלו	? 1st B.
22 6	נכה	נכח ^(?)	B.	27 4	תנו	תנה	? 1st B.
26 25	ושלש	וארבע	? 1st ⁷ B.	9	נחללתו (Double ל) ⁸	נחלתו	1st

DEUTERONOMY.

Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.		Ch. Vs.	Blayney.	Watson Codex.	
		Original Reading.	Present Reading.			Original Reading.	Present Reading.
2 7	נלך	אלך	B.	9 27	קשי	קשה	B. 1st
"	נסור	אסור	B.				

C. Other erasures.

What may be called simple erasures not belonging to either of the foregoing classes are here grouped together. The words printed are those written over them or most closely related to them. Detailed statements in regard to their position—whether beneath or entirely to one side of the words given,—the exact contents of the first writing, etc., would take up too much space. In many places what has been removed was less than a letter but in others it was several words. Except where otherwise stated the present text is from the first hand contemporary with the rest of the page and the making of the erasure must have preceded the writing of what follows it.

^{1, 2 and 3} The present reading indicated at the first writing; probably so at ⁴.

⁴ The present ' probably changed from a ך by the first hand. ;

⁵ A secondary reading indicated at the first writing.

⁶ Cf. the third word preceding.

⁷ The change was made before the word was finished, the ך now occupying the place of the erased ל.

⁸ A secondary reading indicated both at the first and the second writing, the one being the converse of the other.

כל (1st) of Num. 4:14, (? צוה of Num. 30:2) and אל (1st) of Deut. 9:28 were written twice, once at the end of a line and again at the beginning of the next line, and the former erased. Cf. Lev. 16:15 in Table I.

TABLE X.

The portion of the text of the first scribe that preceded כי יעפר אתה of Gen. 3:19 and that that followed לשמע בקולו of Deut. 30:20 have been lost. The leaf that contained Gen. 11, from פן נפץ of verse 4 to the end of verse 23, has also disappeared.

In the following list the missing text is supplied in brackets from Blayney's edition. There can be no reasonable doubt that in most of the places where only part of a word has disappeared the reading was the same as that here given. Fragments of some of the letters remain but not enough to identify them with certainty.

GENESIS.

5:19, [חמ]ש, [וי]וליד, 28, [וי]חי, [בן], 29, [מ]מעשינו, 30, [וי]וליד, 32, [ע]ר, (1st), [א]שר, 7, [ו]יתעצב, 6, [יצר], 5, [בן], 4, [כ]י, 6:1, [וי]וליד, [כ]י, 8, [חנן], 9, 2d, [נח], [אנת], 10, [ש]לשה, 11, [ו]תמלא, 12, (1st and 2d) [וכפרות אתה], תובת עצי, 14, [והנני], [לפני], 13, [בנשר], [הנאריץ], [רוח], [על], 17, [תעשה], [בצרה], [אמה], 16, [אמה], [התבה], [תעשה], 21, [שנים], [למינהו], 20, [אתך], [הבשר], 19, [ונשי], [ובאת], 18, [בארץ], [תקח], 2, [לפני], [ביתך], [ויאמר], 7:1, [נח כל], 22, [ואליך], [קח], [הי]קום, [וא]רבעים, [אנכי], 4, [על פני], [שבעה], 3, [זכר], [הבת]מה, [ועל], [ויחי], 10, (1st), [ומן], 8, [מפני], [ואשתו], 7, [מים], [ונח], 6, [וי]עש, 5, [הי]קום, 23, [מכל], 22, [הארם], 21, [מעל], 17, [נתהום], [לח]דש, [לח]י, 11, 3, [הש]מים, (1st), 2, [המים], 8:1, [יום], [ויגברו], 24, [הארץ], [ער], (2d), [את], 8, [יבשות], [את], 7, [את], 6, [הלכו], 5, [לחדש], 4, [המים], (1st), [הארץ], [שלשה], 19, [שם], [ויהי], 18, [בני], 9:17, [ופרו], 17, [רגלה], 9, [יירשוך], 15:4, [וכנען], 6, [בגיהום], [ללשנו], [אין], 5, [תרשיש], 10:4, [וערלתכם], 11, [הזמול], [בני], 10, [ולדרותם], [ובריתי], [ויאמר], 17:9, [עולם], 19, [אשתך], 15, [כספך], [הזמול], 18, [כסף], [כל], 12, [ובניכם], 20, [האחרת], [תלד], 21, [גרול], [עשר], [אתו], (2d), [שמעתיו], 22, [ישלש], [אברהם], 18:8, [בהמלו], 25, [באנשי], [ילירי], [ויקח], 23, [אתו], 49, [ו]תדר, 24:45, [והדלת], 19:6, [מאד], 20, [אליו], 9, [לעשותו], 7, [עבר], 53, [וישתחו], [ויחי], 52, [לבן], [רבקה], 51, [לא], 50, [ישכם], [וילך], [אחריו], 61, [אברהם], 59, [ויהנה], 56, [ואשר], 54, [ולאמה], [ויתן], [ויאמר], [האיש], 65, [מעל], [רבקה], 64, [עיניו], [יצחק], 63, [רא], 62,

¹ Parchment sufficient to contain one letter lost from the right of the y. (Some manuscripts read העבר.)

[וברכתך], [ויאמר], 27:35; [א]מ[ו], [א]ת[ה], [ויביא]ת[ה], 67; [א]ת[ה], 66; [הצע]יף; 45; בר[נ]ה, [ע]תה לקח ברכת[ה], [פ]עמים, [ויעקבני], [ויאשר], 36; [חת אם לקח], [אל יצחק קצתני], 46; [גם שניכם יחם], [לו ושל]חתי, [ויחלם], 12; [החזא], [מראישת], [הש]מש, 28:11; [כאלה מבנות], 38:1; [בנית אלהים], [הזאת], [והאבן], 22; [בית], 21; [מגיע השמים], [אחיו], 14; [בגדים], 43:16; [א]פ[ו], 39:19; [ועינים], [ותתכם], 14; [אחיו], 24; [לחם], [בצהריים], 25; [רגליהם].

EXODUS.

9:19, (8d) [ה]ארץ; 13:7, [גבולך]; 27:11, [חשקיהם כסף].

LEVITICUS.

6:22, [קנ]ש, 6; [ח]מ[זכחה], 7:5; [ל]א, 23; [תק]ט[ויר] [י]עשה, 6:22.

* and * The damaged letter was probably י.

* The initial letter accidentally rubbed out.

P. 124, Gen. 19:9, for ת read ט; p. 129, Gen. 43:25, add לחם X.; p. 134, Ex. 33:10, for ך read ך; p. 138, Lev. 26:16, add מכלות (B.) מכליות codex; p. 140, Num. 8:7, for VII. read הוה.

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE EXODUS.

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According to the Elohist, the Sons of Israel lived for three or four generations¹ among the Egyptians,² honored and supported at first,³ but subsequently enslaved and ill treated.⁴ From this oppression they were delivered through Moses, who with the rod of God⁵ smote the land of Egypt with five great plagues, viz.: blood in the river,⁶ hail,⁷ locusts,⁸ darkness⁹ and disease,¹⁰ then divided the waters of the Yam Suph,¹¹ caused the people to march through the sea, fought 'Amalek at Rephidim,¹² continued to Horeb, the mount of God,¹³ received Yithro, the priest of Midyan,¹⁴ settled at Kadesh and planned the conquest of the Amorite kingdom of Sihon.¹⁵ The Yahwist related that Israel once resided with flocks and herds in the province of Gošen¹⁶ and grew to be a great and mighty nation, feared by the Egyptians, who therefore forced them to supply brick and laborers for the building of the store-cities of Pithom and Ramses.¹⁷ Yahweh,

¹ Gen. I. 23; Ex. II. 1.

² Bacon seems to me correct in his view that in this document "we see the Hebrews still a mere clan quietly living in one of the cities of Egypt, the royal city, and scattered as individuals among the Egyptians' dwellings," *JBL.*, X., 1891, p. 110. How, with his fine appreciation of E's consistency, Bacon can assign to him Ex. XII. 37b, Num. XI. 21, I cannot quite understand. "Slaves, not in a condition to own flocks and herds and crops" are scarcely in a position to "go forth like an army 600,000 strong, armed and with an high hand," *JBL.*, IX., 1890, p. 23. With Kittel, *Geschichte*, p. 196, I assign these passages to P. Cf. also Addis, *The Oldest Book of Hebrew History*, 1893, p. 127.

³ Gen. XLVII. 12.

⁴ Ex. II. 1 sqq.

⁵ Ex. XV. 17, 20b al.

⁶ Ex. VII. 15, 17b, 20b, 23.

⁷ Ex. IX. 22, 23a, 25a.

⁸ Ex. X. 12, 13a, 14a, 15a.

⁹ Ex. X. 20-23, 27.

¹⁰ The order in E was probably as follows: XI. 1-3; XII. 35, 36; this sentence וַיֵּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה כְּשֶׁה נָטַח יָדְךָ עַל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּרַבֵּר וַיִּפְנֶעַ בְּמֹות כָּל בֵּית בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיֵּט מִשָּׁה אֶת מַטְהוֹ עַל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם; then XII. 30a, 31a, 33 and 38a. For רַבֵּר and the construction of פִּנֵּעַ, cf. Ex. V. 3 (vs. 1-4 belong to E).

¹¹ Ex. XIII. 18.

¹² Ex. XVII. 8-16.

¹³ Ex. XIX. 26.

¹⁴ Ex. XVIII. 1.

¹⁵ Num. XXI. 21-31.

¹⁶ All references to Gošen and to flocks and herds belong to J. On this important point I agree entirely with Bacon, l. c. A list in the temple at Denderah designates Kesem as the capital of the twentieth nome in Lower Egypt, called Sopt, Dümichen, *Rec.*, III., 65, 20. It is probable that LXX. had this in mind in rendering Γεσεμ. Ptolemy calls the capital of Ἀραβίας νομός, Φακوصα, and with this agrees the Coptic Fakos=pa Kos, the modern Tell Fakus. The name was, no doubt, extended from the city to the nomos in the form of Kos or Kosem. Cf. Dümichen, *Geographie d. alten Aegyptens*, 1887, p. 265; also Ebers in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch*, 1896-1894. If this identification is correct, the Gošen of Josh. X. 41; XI. 16, D³, can scarcely be the same as the Gošen of J, as Bacon thinks, l. c. It may be a fertile strip of land west of the Negeb named after the Egyptian province; and the city of the same name, Josh. XV. 51, its capital.

¹⁷ Ex. I. 11, Pi Tum, "the abode of Tum," was the sacred name of the capital of Abnefer, the VIIIth nome in Lower Egypt, its civil name being Thukut = סִכּוּת, Ex. XII. 37a P. It was situated in the Wadi Tumlat where the modern Tell el Maskhuta is; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 1888. Ramses has not yet been identified. Ebers, in Riehm, *Hösch.*, 1894, thinks of Tan,

however, sent Moses to demand of Pharaoh release, and upon his refusing to grant even a few days' leave of absence, smote Egypt with seven plagues, viz., pollution of the Nile water,¹⁸ frogs in the river,¹⁹ flies,²⁰ murrain,²¹ hail,²² locusts²³ and death of the firstborn,²⁴ in each case exempting the province of Gosen. Then he led the way in a pillar of cloud and fire to the Yam-Suph, laid bare the sea by a strong east wind,²⁵ gave Israel victory over the pursuing Egyptians and confused and drowned them in their retreat,²⁶ appeared in majesty on Mount Sinai²⁷ and ordered the conquest of Canaan. Guided by Hobab, the Midianite,²⁸ Israel marched to Kadeš, sent spies into Canaan,²⁹ was discouraged and moved about in the desert for forty years,³⁰ then settled in Šittim,³¹ crossed the Jordan and captured Jericho. Amos declared that Yahweh had brought Israel out of Egypt and led them forty years in the wilderness, and based an argument upon the admitted fact that throughout this period there were no sacrifices and religious processions such as characterized the cult of his own time.³² Hosea threatened Ephraim with a return to Egypt,³³ proclaimed Yahweh's love for Israel, his son, whom he had called out of Egypt,³⁴ called Yahweh Israel's god from Egypt and intimated that Israel had once lived in tents before entering Canaan.³⁵ Isaiah announced that Aššur would smite Israel with a rod "after the manner of Egypt" but that Yahweh subsequently would lift "his rod upon the sea against Aššur" after the manner of Egypt.³⁶ Micah proclaimed that Yahweh had brought his people up out of the land of Egypt, redeemed them from

Tanis, the $\pi\gamma$ of Num. XIII. 22 E. But this city flourished already in the XIIth dynasty, and possibly as early as in the VIth. Lagarde, *Mitt.*, IV., 149 sqq. proposes פְּתִים רִעְקִס in Ex. I. 11, and would understand "r" as in "רָקִיעַ", Gen. XLVII. 11 P. But there is no ground for supposing Ramesses to be another name for the VIIIth nome.

¹⁸ Ex. VII. 14, 16, 18, 21, 24, 25.

¹⁹ Ex. VII. 26 sqq.

²⁰ Ex. VIII. 16 sqq.

²¹ Ex. ix. 1-7.

²² Ex. ix. 13, 14a, 17, 18, 23b, 24, 25b, 28-34.

²³ Ex. X. 1-11, 13a, 3b, 14a, 3b, 15a, 3b, 16-19.

²⁴ Ex. XI. 4-8; XII. 29 [30aa, וַיִּקְרָא, 31b, 32].

²⁵ Ex. XIV. 21b.

²⁶ Ex. XIV. 24 sqq. Cf. Wellhausen, *JDTA.* XXI. p. 546.

²⁷ Ex. XIX. 8, 11, 16, 18, 20.

²⁸ Num. X. 29-32, cf. Kittel, *Geach.*, p. 181.

²⁹ Num. XIII. 17b-19, 22, 27, 28.

³⁰ Num. XXXII. 13. Kuenen's reasoning, *Theol. Tijdschr.* XI., 1877, 545 sqq. failed to convince me that 5-13 is one of the latest *haggadic* fragments in the Pentateuch. In *Onderzoek.*, 1887, p. 248, he at least assigns it to JE. With Dillmann and Kittel, I assign it to J. ³¹ Num. XXV. 1.

³² II. 10; IX. 7; V. 23, 26. On the last passage, cf. my article in *JBL.*, XIII., 1894.

³³ IX. 3.

³⁴ XI. 1.

³⁵ XII. 10; מִיֶּעַר should, in my judgment, be emended to קָרַם. That the Targum could have rendered the present text כִּי־יִי קָרַם, is to me inconceivable. מִיֶּעַר may have been a gloss explaining the period referred to, probably designed to convey the idea of wandering, marching, cf. מִיֶּעַר "band," "troop," Isa. XIV. 31. Some later reader or copyist would readily think of the feast of tabernacles and pronounce מִיֶּעַר.

³⁶ X. 24, 26. Duhm, *Jesaja*, 1892, assigns X. 24-27a to the 2d century, pointing to "die Tendenz, die Tempelgemeinde zu trösten," to 26ba as "ein Ausdruck der besser zu einem Exogenen passt als zu einem Propheten" and to the preference since Ezekiel, "die Geschichte des Exodus als Themenstoff für Predigten zu verwerthen." But there is no reference to any "Tempelgemeinde;" the author of X. 5-7; XI. 18 sqq. knows well how to give comfort of this kind; poetic license may account for דִּים עַל דִּים instead of דִּים עַל דִּים, but scarcely exegetic ἀκρίβεια; E. J. Amos and Hosea had already used the Exodus and the wilderness period for parænetic purposes, and the style and the vocabulary are Isaiah's.

bondage, sent before them Moses, Aaron and Miriam, and frustrated through Balaam the plans of Balak, king of Moab.³⁷ According to the Deuteronomist, Yahweh took Israel out of the midst of Egypt, with signs and wonders, with battle and great power,³⁸ spoke to the people from the fire on Mount Horeb,³⁹ led them to Kadesh Barnea and thence in thirty-eight years to Zered,⁴⁰ supplied them miraculously with food and clothing all through the forty years' period⁴¹ and finally gave them the Amorite kingdoms of Sihon and Og.⁴² Jeremiah praised the love shown by Israel and the faithfulness of Yahweh in the wilderness⁴³ and declared that Yahweh gave no commands concerning sacrifices at the time he brought them out of the land of Egypt.⁴⁴ Ezekiel held that Israel and Judah had once been in Egypt and there learnt idolatrous practices.⁴⁵ A Deuteronomistic hand in 1 Kgs. vi. 1 penned the statement that the building of Solomon's temple began in the four hundred and eightieth year after the Exodus. Partly on the basis of earlier documents, the Priestly Writer related, that Israel sojourned in Egypt 430 years;⁴⁶ was delivered through Moses and Aaron who with his rod performed five great wonders, viz., transformation of the rod into a serpent,⁴⁷ change of water into blood,⁴⁸ frogs,⁴⁹ flies,⁵⁰ and boils,⁵¹ of which the Egyptian magicians could perform only three; marched 600,000 strong from Ramses to Sukkoth,⁵² Etham,⁵³ Pi Hahiroth⁵⁴ and the Yam Suph and through this sea to Sinai where an elaborate code was given and a magnificent cult instituted; and from Sinai proceeded by easy stages⁵⁵ to Paran where the conquest of Canaan was planned.

From these data the conclusion may be drawn that, in the period of the two kingdoms, there was among the Israelitish tribes a widespread⁵⁶ tradition that

³⁷ VI. 3, 4. עַר הַנִּלְנָל מִן הַשְּׂמִיטִים עַר הַנִּלְנָל is more likely to be a remnant of a more complete sentence than a gloss in Ewald's sense. Wellhausen has no explanation to offer for its interpolation here, Skazzen, V. 144.

³⁸ IV. 34. ³⁹ I. 8 sqq. ⁴⁰ II. 14. ⁴¹ I. 30, 31; XXIX. 4, 5. ⁴² II. 24 sqq.; III. 1 sqq.

⁴³ II. 2, 6, 7. ⁴⁴ VII. 22, cf. XVI. 14. ⁴⁵ XXIII. 3, 19, 27. ⁴⁶ Ex. XII. 40. ⁴⁷ Ex. VII. 1-13.

⁴⁸ Ex. VII. 19, 20aa, 22. ⁴⁹ Ex. VIII. 1-3, 11ayb. ⁵⁰ Ex. VIII. 12-15. ⁵¹ Ex. IX. 8-12.

⁵² Ex. XII. 37.

⁵³ Ex. XIII. 20. Naville, l. c., p. 28, identifies אֶתְמָא with the Atuma or Atima of Pap. Anastasi VI., 4, regarding it as a region and not a city. Rougé, Chabas and Brugsch (even *Ägyptologie*, 1889, p. 37) transcribed it Edom and referred it to the Biblical Edom. Naville's objection that "it is an anachronism to admit the existence of a land of Edom in the XIIth dynasty" assumes a knowledge we do not possess of the origin of the name and the nation of Edom.

⁵⁴ Ex. XIV. 2. Naville, l. c., p. 30, identifies פִּי־חִירֶת with Pikerehet, found in the tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphus, combining the LXX. *επαυλις* with the *ah* of Anast. VI. It is, indeed, difficult to see why the Alexandrian should have given this translation, if the Hebrew word had not suggested to him a place familiarly known as "the farm house." But it is not certain that he knew just where the ancient Pi Hahiroth was. Naville admits that Pikerehet "must have been an important place judging from the amount of taxes which the kings attribute as revenue to its temple," p. 15. Is it likely that such a city should have been known as "the farm house?" There is no evidence that the particular *ah* of Anast. VI. was either Pikerehet, Pi Hahiroth or the farm building of which the Alexandrian thought.

⁵⁵ Num. XXXIII. 1-49. For the genesis and growth of these itineraries compare the excellent observations of Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch*, 1893, p. 168 sqq.

⁵⁶ We are scarcely in a position to assert that it was universal even then; but the political unity of David's and Solomon's time no doubt made common property of many a tale that until then had lived on the lips of single tribes.

their ancestors had once been in Egypt but escaped from this house of bondage and lived awhile on the Sinaitic peninsula, previous to the conquest of Canaan. It is also to be inferred that, at least towards the close of this period, centuries were thought to lie between Solomon and the Exodus and other centuries between the Exodus and Joseph. This would point to the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties as the epoch of the sojourn in Egypt, the life in the desert, and the conquest of Palestine.

Fortunately, this is just the time when we would most hopefully look to Egypt, Sinai and Palestine for testimony concerning the Hebrew tribes. From Aahmes (1579-1557)⁶⁷ to Ramessu IV. (1208-1192) Egyptian armies were constantly marching through the Eastern Delta on their way to Palestine; official couriers and travelers passed to and fro between these countries, and numerous records of campaigns, reports, letters and memoirs have come into our possession.

During the same period, Ma'in Mişran, Ma'in, Maon, Midyan and 'Amalek dwelt on the Sinaitic peninsula, in the Syrian desert and in Northern Arabia. Some of these knew well how to record important events, as the Minaean inscriptions show.

How long before the reign of Amenhotep III. (1437-1401) the cuneiform script and the Babylonian language were used in Palestine, cannot be determined at present. Nor have we any data for ascertaining whether the wedge-shaped characters fell into disuse when the diplomatic relations between Egypt and Palestine ceased. But for more than a generation there certainly was considerable literary activity in the centres of Amorite life. Unless a very marked deterioration of this race took place, such as the Hebrew records scarcely warrant us in assuming, it is more likely that the wedge-writing was retained by the Amorite scribes until the alphabet became known than that so useful an art should have been suddenly dropped.

Increasing knowledge of this period justifies the hope for direct testimony from those so immediately concerned in the movements of the Hebrew tribes, and so capable of rendering an account of themselves and of their neighbors. The more reliance we place upon the details of the Hebrew tradition, the more remarkable would be their silence.

Is there any such testimony? Chabas⁶⁸ first called attention to the Aperiu or Apri appearing as carriers of stone in two letters from the time of Ramessu II.

⁶⁷ These dates are based on the native sources, the synchronism with Babylonian kings furnished by the Amarna correspondence and the astronomical calculations of Mahler. On the basis of Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III., 48a, Mahler determined the date of Tehutimes III. as extending from March 20th, 1593 to February 14th, 1449; *Chronol. Vergleichungstabellen*, Wien, 1888, p. 39. If it is not absolutely certain, internal evidence strongly points to a composition of this fragment in the same reign as that of III. 43f. where Tehutimes' name occurs. He also determined the date of Ramessu II. as extending from 1348 to 1231. Cf. *Z.A.S.*, 1889, p. 97; 1890, p. 32. Meyer is sufficiently convinced to commend a slight change in his former dates and to suggest Amenhotep I. as the king of Papyrus Ebers; cf. *Geschichte des Altertums*, II., Stuttgart, 1893, p. 131.

⁶⁸ *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, Châlon sur Saône, 1864, II., 148.

(1348-1281), one from Kausir to Bakh-en-Ptah,⁵⁹ and another from Keni Amen to Hui.⁶⁰ The reading Aperiu was also suggested in a somewhat blurred text from the beginning of the reign of Mer-en-Ptah (1281-1269), where this king is represented as vanquishing them with his arms.⁶¹ The identification with the Hebrews was confidently proposed⁶² and widely accepted.⁶³ Perhaps the most comprehensive and vigorous defense, from the old point of view, was that of Waldemar Schmidt.⁶⁴ But further research brought difficulties. It was discovered that these Aperiu were in Egypt when, according to the theory, they ought not to be there. As late as in the days of Ramessu IV. (1203-1192) "Aperiu 800 in number" are mentioned in the Hamamat inscription.⁶⁵ They are there called Aperiu of An or Aian, the mountainous district east of Memphis extending to the Red Sea. And as early as in the time of Neferhotep, of the XIIIth dynasty (c. 2200) they meet us as sailors in Egypt.⁶⁶ In the thousand years intervening they are found occasionally in a different rôle. Thus in the reign of Tehtimes III. (1503-1449) some of this people are presented as messengers mounting their horses at the king's command;⁶⁷ and in a document from the time of Ramessu III. (1285-1203) we learn that 2083 Aperiu were settled near Heliopolis. They are introduced as "knights, sons of the kings and noble lords [marina] of the Aperiu, settled people dwelling in this place."⁶⁸ In view of these facts it was thought impossible to maintain the identification and most scholars beat a hasty retreat. The only remarkable thing about this change of position was the quiet assumption of knowledge that led to it. Wiedemann announced that the Aperiu were in the land "long before the arrival of the Jews in Egypt,"⁶⁹ as if all the world knew just the year and the day when Hebrew tribes first began to assemble on the frontiers of Egypt. Brugsch took offense at the thought that any of the forebears of the prophets should ever have sat on horseback, and was at a loss to explain how Hebrew clans could have resided as honored men near Heliopolis in the days of Ramessu III.⁷⁰ Max Duncker was quite certain that the Hebrews could not have been known to the Egyptians as Apri or Ibri, since we know Ibrim to mean "die Jenseitigen."⁷¹ Even Eduard Meyer, convinced by Brugsch's investigations that the Aperiu were a people living in the Erythrean district of An, declared the identification without a foundation.⁷² Of course, if we know just when Hebrew tribes drifted into Egyptian territory, how they occupied

⁵⁹ *Leyden Papyrus*, I., 348. ⁶⁰ *Leyden Papyrus*, I., 349.

⁶¹ *Papyrus Anastasi*, III., last letter. ⁶² Chabas, *Mélanges, and Recherches*, Paris, 1873.

⁶³ Cf. Naville, *Les Israélites en Égypte*, in *Revue Chrétienne*, 1878.

⁶⁴ *Assyriens og Ægyptens gamle historie*, Kjøbenhavn, 1877, 878sqq.

⁶⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III., 219e. ⁶⁶ Mariette, *Abydos*, II., 39, 13. ⁶⁷ *Pap. Harris*, 500 verso.

⁶⁸ Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 211.

⁶⁹ *Ägyptische Geschichte*, Gotha, 1884-1888, p. 491.

⁷⁰ *Z.A.S.*, 1878, p. 71; *Geschichte Ägyptens*, 541, 582sqq.

⁷¹ *Geschichte des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1878, I., 387.

⁷² *Geschichte des Altertums*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 288.

themselves there, what name they bore and what it signified, and can be sure that these sons of the desert never sat on horseback and never bolted or lagged behind, or slunk back to the fleshpots of Egypt, these arguments are convincing. But are we really so well informed as that? The only serious objection against the identification was raised by Meyer, when, a few years after his first utterance, he announced that "die 'apru sind überhaupt kein Volk, das Wort bedeutet Arbeiter."⁷³ It is difficult, however, to believe that the Egyptians should have used the same word to designate a sailor, a stone-carrier, a mounted courier, a warrior, and a mighty lord. If Apri is the true reading in Anast. III. 7, Mer-en Ptah would then boast of a glorious victory over a body of laboring men (!) Worst of all, the author of the Harris papyrus would *ex hypothesi* call these "laborers," "sons of kings and noble lords." Perchance as a compliment to their versatility?⁷⁴ On the other hand, Brugsch, in his last work,⁷⁵ comes to the conclusion that "es ist immer noch eine unentschiedene Frage ob die... 'pr'w Ebräer sind oder nicht;" and he refers to the Heroopolitan district, 'An, where the Pitum known to Hebrew tradition and so brilliantly discovered by Naville was situated, as "dasselbe Gebiet von welchem die 'pr'w (Ebräer?) versetzt wurden." The Aperiu may, indeed, have been a different people from the Hebrews;⁷⁶ but no reasons have yet been adduced that conclusively forbid the identification.

These foreigners first appear in Egypt in an era of migratory movements, possibly in the very century that witnessed the Palestinian expeditions of Kudur Mabuk and Hammurabi (2240-2186), possibly the Amraphel of Gen. xiv.,⁷⁷ who, according to the same source, was accompanied by Kudur La'amar,⁷⁸ Ariokh = Eri Agu⁷⁹ and Tid'al⁸⁰ and was a contemporary of Abram,⁸¹ the Hebrew.⁸² Push-

⁷³ *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, Berlin, 1887, p. 297.

⁷⁴ I can attach no significance to the absence of the determinative for foreigner in some instances. In *Pap. Leyden*, I., 348 it occurs, while in *Pap. Leyden*, I., 349, it is absent; yet the context is exactly the same. The ordinary word for "laborer," bak, Copt. bok, occurs alongside of Apri in these texts.

⁷⁵ *Die Aegyptologie*, Leipzig, 1889-1891, pp. 38, 39.

⁷⁶ One would be tempted, in that case, to think of the Midianite people עֶמְרָר, Gen. xxv. 4, J or of Ashurbanipal's Appar, V R. 9. 27 with whom Glaser connects this עֶמְרָר, *Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin, 1890, p. 448. This may, indeed, be the remnant of a larger Sinaitic people including some Midianite clans and some clans afterwards entering into the composition of בני ישראל.

⁷⁷ Even Winckler now admits that Martu (Aḥarru) always refers to "das Westland" and .hat Ammisatana and Hammurabi held possession of Palestine, *Alt. Forschungen*, II., 1894, p. 148 sqq. The identification is accepted by Schrader, *Bab. Königsliste*, 25, 26; Halévy, *REJ.*, XV., 183 sqq.; Zimmern, *Die Assyriologie als Hilfswissenschaft*, 10. Less probable is Hommel's Amraphel (LXX.) = Amar muballit = Sin muballit, father of Hammurabi, *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.*, 368.

⁷⁸ אמרלעמר has not been found on any inscription; but the name is so "echt Elamitisch." that Meyer gives him a place beside Kudur Mabuk, and regards the chapter as written by a Jew in Babylon on the basis of historical study, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I., p. 185 sqq.

⁷⁹ For this identification see the convincing arguments of Hommel, *Gesch.*, p. 357 sqq.

⁸⁰ גִּידָל possibly corrupted from גִּוְלָל = Gutl. According to Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscr.*, p. 12 sqq., this kingdom already existed in the days of Sargon I. But cf. Halévy, *Revue Sém.*, 1894

ing into the land, some of their number, as well as Phoenicians and other aliens, were hired for marine service. What their fortunes were during the Hyksos period, is not known. But in the XVIIIth dynasty we find Aperiu familiar with the use of the horse just then putting in his appearance in Egypt. This seems to point to some connection with Syria and Mesopotamia, or at least with the Semitic tribes mediating the traffic with those parts. In the Egyptian army that besieged Joppa it was the Aperiu that mounted their horses to carry royal messages. But whatever services of this nobler kind they rendered Tehutimes III., a new king arose that knew them not. For his great building enterprises Ramessu II. had need of these strangers and he put them to work as stone-carriers, and possibly as brick-makers.⁸³ Between Mer en Ptah (1281-1269) and Ramessu III. (1235-1208) a change took place in their position. Something of radical importance must have happened. For when the cloud lifts, they are seen in a peaceful settlement near Heliopolis and are referred to as "sons of kings and noble lords of the Apri." The most natural explanation of this seems to be that the former slaves had escaped from their bondage and risen to eminence in the time when the Palestinian Arsu⁸⁴ held sway over the country (1255-1242). Maintaining themselves in the reign of Ramessu III., they were no longer remembered as the sons of abject bondsmen but as the descendants of noble sires. *Tant va le monde!* But in their old haunts in the Mokattam mountains less successful kinsmen soon were reduced to slavery again.

Is there in all this anything that is incompatible with a reasonable conception of early Hebrew history? The Sons of Israel rightly regarded themselves as only a part of a larger family, the Hebrews, scattered all over Arabia and the Sinaitic peninsula. Some of their great mountain shrines were on this peninsula.⁸⁵

p. 279. Tad'al = Ta du gilu may, however, only point to a linguistic affinity between Gutian and Mittanian.

⁸³ Whatever the original elements, this pericope was undoubtedly worked over in postexilic times. As to the character, age and extent of the source, we know nothing. The finds at El Amarna and El Hesay make an Amorite origin as probable as a Babylonian. To assert that Abram and Malkisedek never existed, as Meyer does, *l. c.*, is to assume more knowledge than we possess. On the other hand, Dillmann, *Genesis* and Kittel, *Geschichte*, 158sq. have only shown a bare possibility.

⁸⁴ The derivation of this name from the root פָּרַח with the significance of "passieren, vorüberziehen, weiterziehen" as "wanderer," proposed by Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 282, seems to me more probable than the ordinarily accepted view connecting the name with the passage of a river, either the Euphrates or the Jordan (so Stade and Meyer). The name of the Ge'ez people is a good analogy; Cf. Ludolf, *Hist. Aeth.* I., 1, 4; Dillmann, *Grammatik d. Aeth. Sprache*, p. 2; *Lexicon Aeth.*, p. 118 s. v. Less felicitous is the proposed analogy to the Philistines. This people has been identified even by Meyer, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 316, with the Pullista or Pursta. Of the meaning of their name we are as ignorant as of their ethnic connection.

⁸⁵ *Pap. Anast.*, III.

⁸⁶ *Pap. Harris*, pl. 76. Cf. Eisenlohr, *Der grosse Papyrus Harris*, Leipzig, 1872.

⁸⁷ That Horeb and Sinai were the same mountain, cannot be asserted. The two traditions, ED, 1 Kgs. XIX. 8, and Deut. XXXIII. 2 (Song of Moses.) JP, may point to two equally famous sanctuaries. That Yahweh was the god of Kayin, Midyan and possibly other Sina-

The Egyptian borderland no doubt had the same attraction for them as for other Semites.⁸⁶ That some of their clans should have established themselves in the Mokattam mountains, the Heroopolitan district, and the neighborhood of Heliopolis, is not at all unlikely. Like their kinsmen they certainly may have been pressed into service occasionally. It is only natural to suppose that, at a time when Egypt was suffering from dissension⁸⁷ and pestilence, some of these clans should have effected their escape. Nothing forbids the assumption that Hebrews in better circumstances declined to cast in their lot with Moses, that the unwonted hardships of the desert, the rigid discipline of the great leader and the first unsuccessful attempts at entering Palestine sent others back, that the disaffected elements united with the Palestinian hordes invading Egypt under Arsu and that a flourishing colony established itself in this period of foreign domination in their old home near Heliopolis. This is, at any rate, not a whit more strange or less probable than the course of Aperiian history just outlined. But if the Egyptians designated as Aperiu the same people that the Israelites called Ibrim, there is no objection to supposing that among the Aperiu-Ibrim that escaped from Egyptian oppression there were some clans that afterwards became a part of the nation of Israel.⁸⁸ As to the Exodus, the Egyptian references would neither affirm, nor yet exclude, such an event; they would, however, indicate as its probable date some time between the end of Mer en Ptah's reign (1269) and Ramessu III's accession (1235), not long before the invasion of Arsu, in 1255.

Before leaving the Egyptian documents it may be well to inquire whether any references in later writers to this epoch, or to the Exodus of the Hebrews, may have been based upon reliable native sources. The number of Greek and Roman

itic tribes has been well shown by Tiele, *Vergel. Gesch.*, 1876, p. 558 sqq.; *Godedienat in de Oudheid*, 1893, p. 280 sqq.; and Stade, *Gesch.*, 1889, p. 131; *Das Katnasetchen*, ZATW., XIV., 1894, p. 250 sqq. Yithro, Re'uel and Hobab whom, with Tiele, I regard as priestly representatives of Midianite and Kenite clans, probably joined with Moses in Yahweh worship at Horeb, or at Sinai, or at both these places, because they had often worshiped him there before and the power of their god had been signally manifested. Sinai was, no doubt, originally dedicated to Sin; for while the Min-Sab. 𐤎 with which the name is written, Oslander 29, 5, generally corresponds to an Aram.-Heb. ש rather than a ס , I doubt whether it can be laid down as an absolute rule, as Hommel does, *Südarabische Chrest.*, 1893, p. 10. But that would not prevent Qayin from habitually worshiping Yahweh there, any more than Israel scrupled to worship Yahweh at the old sanctuary on Carmel. The Ephraemite designation of Horeb as אֶרֶץ הָהָר also points to it as a "Götterberg."

⁸⁶ Cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. alt. Aegyptens*, p., 297 sqq.

⁸⁷ Is there an intimation of political disaffection in Ex. xii. 38a, E?

⁸⁸ This is admitted to be the historical nucleus of the later Hebrew accounts even by Stade, *Geschichte*, p. 129 "Es sind gewichtige Gründe vorhanden welche uns zu der Annahme zwingen dass einzelne hebräische Stämme oder Geschlechter in Aegypten sich aufgehalten und unter Mose sich befreit;" and by Meyer, *Geschichte d. alt. Aeg.*, p. 298 "irgend einer der Stämme aus denen die Nation der Söhne Israels zusammengefloßen ist, hat einmal in den Grenzgebieten des Nillandes gesizelt und die Erinnerung davon bewahrt." That the identification would carry with it the historicity of the Hebrew narratives, as Honorato del Val, El Pentateuco, in *La Ciudad de Dios*, 1893, p. 180 sqq., seems to think, cannot be maintained.

historians who agree that the Jews once resided in Egypt, but in some way, at some time, were driven out of the country, is indeed considerable. Such names as Hecataeus of Abdera, Manetho, Poseidon, Lysimachus, Chæremon, Pompejus Trogus, Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Tacitus, have a good sound. But even their combined testimony has little weight. The later writers depend on the earlier, and some of these may easily have picked up their crumbs of learning in the Jewish Ghetto at Alexandria. The only authors that can be seriously considered are Hecataeus of Abdera and Manetho of Sebennytos. No doubt the number of Jews in Egypt at the time of Ptolemy I. (306-283) was not small. The persons upon whom Hecataeus depended for his knowledge may have derived information from the Jews. But they themselves could scarcely have told him that their fathers were driven out of Egypt because the gods were angry with them and that the common mass of the expelled became their ancestors while the flower of the people went to Hellas.⁸⁹ On the other hand, it is difficult to say what native traditions reported to him may have led to his view. That such existed bearing on this point, seems evident from the accounts of Manetho.⁹⁰ Whether this learned priest took his story from the mouth of the people, or, as is more likely, from written documents,⁹¹ its thoroughly native character cannot be denied. Meyer says: "Die Art der Erzählung ist ächt ägyptisch. Die Geschichte könnte direct aus einem hieratischen Papyrus des neuen Reichs übersetzt sein,"⁹² and his judgment on this point is of the greatest value. *Ἀμενφίς του Παπίου* was identified by Erman as Amenhotep, the famous son of Hapi, *pa* being the masculine article and *apis* = Hapi.⁹³ This naturally led Meyer to regard *Ἀμενφίς ο βασιλεὺς* as Amenhotep IV., and the whole story as embodying a later conception of "the revolution Khu en Aten's apostasy from the old faith called forth." Amenophis = Amenhotep certainly seems to me more probable than Wiedemann's Amenophis = Amenmerisetneht.⁹⁴ It may even be that the elegant phrase, *ἐπιθυμῶν θεῶν γενεσθαι θεότης*, which Josephus so needlessly ridicules, was coined in sympathetic North Egyptian priestly circles as a euphemism for the solar monotheism of Khu en Aten. But Wiedemann, in my judgment correctly, maintains that the substance of the story is the memory of a time like that depicted in the Harris papyrus, pl. LXXVI., rather than that of Khu en Aten. The iconoclasts and oppressors are the strangers, and not Amenophis-Khu en

⁸⁹ Hecataean fragment in *Diodorus*, XL, 3.

⁹⁰ Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 26-31. The suspicion that 26 sqq. were derived from a pseudo-Manethonian work does not appear to be well founded.

⁹¹ Even if these documents should go back to the XXth dynasty, it is of course possible that the words translated *μετετέθη το ὄνομα καὶ προσήγορευθη Μωυσης* were inserted by some learned scribe in the days of Sešenk or even the Napata kings, when there was a sufficiently close contact with Judaea to account for the identification.

⁹² *Geschichte d. alt. Aeg.*, p. 276.

⁹³ *Z.A.S.*, 1877, p. 147 sqq.

⁹⁴ *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 1884, p. 493. *Ἐμψήης* may have referred in the original to Ramessu III., but Manetho evidently thought of Ramessu Mer Amen (66 years).

Aten. In Manetho as in the Harris papyrus there is a Palestinian invasion. Theological considerations may have rounded out the picture and located it in a wrong time. How was this humiliation of Egypt to be accounted for? The presumptuous course of Amenhotep IV. was known to have brought in a period of national disaster. But the wise son of Hapi, living about that time, must have seen beforehand the coming calamity and warned the king. Eliminating this later element, and also some evident reminiscences of the expulsion of the Hyksos under Aahmes,⁹⁵ the rest seems to be a duplicate of the sad story in the Harris papyrus. With this addition, however, that certain aliens already in the land are described as lepers, connected with the Hyksos in Jerusalem and said to be governed by Osarsiph-Moses rather than by Arsu. Egyptian feeling may have vented itself in the somewhat inelegant nickname of "lepers" given to this people, scarcely on the ground of their "ceremonial uncleanness"⁹⁶ i. e. their different rules of taboo, rather than because of numerous and obnoxious cases of elephantiasis or other cutaneous diseases among them. With our present knowledge of the history of Jerusalem, it is no longer improbable that the expelled Hyksos fell upon Palestine and took possession of its chief city.⁹⁷ It is now generally admitted that the Hyksos were Semites and not improperly designated as Arabs.⁹⁸ The Palestinian hordes invading Egypt under Arsu may well have been taken to be the descendants of these Hyksos. Nor would it be strange, if some in reality were so. Manetho explains the name *Οσαρσιφ* από του εν *Ηλιου* παλει *Θεου* *Οσιρεως*. He evidently took him to be a native. But Egyptian deities were known and worshiped in Syria as early as in the fifteenth century,⁹⁹ particularly Hesiri and Tehuti. Yet it is more probable that the name, being in reality Arsu,⁹⁹ was Egyptianized by a later writer, familiar with the event, but not with pap. Harris. That this man assumed the name of Moses, cannot be an interpolation of Josephus; for this identification of Moses with Osarsiph seems to him the

⁹⁵ As such must be characterized the memory of *Αναρίς*, the Hatwaret of the inscriptions, cf. Brugsch, *Die Aegyptologie*, pp. 34-36, and also the close connection with Ethiopia at that time, for Aahmes' queen was an Ethiopian, cf. Wiedemann, *Gesch.*, p. 313 and it is not unreasonable to suppose that her kinsmen aided in the expulsion of the Hyksos.

⁹⁶ So Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, p. 495.

⁹⁷ After centuries of settled life in Egypt, during which their leaders held control of the nation and their upper classes no doubt adopted Egyptian civilization, it is not likely that they returned to nomadic life, but vastly more probable that they sought a new home for themselves in Palestine, this *כְּנָעַן לְכָל הָאֲרָצוֹת* (c. 1600-1570) was scarcely in a position to prevent this. The Babylonian ascendancy in Palestine, of which the inscriptions of Hammurabi and Ammisatana (2147-2134), and only less directly the language of the Amarna tablets, bears testimony, must have been lost in the time of the later Urnazagga kings. Hani is to be sought in the Median mountains.

⁹⁸ Cf. G. Steindorff, *Zur Geschichte der Hyksos*, Leipzig, 1894.

⁹⁹ Cf. the letter from the inhabitants of Tunip to Amenhotep IV., No. 41 of the Tell el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum, London, 1882.

¹⁰⁰ So Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, p. 493.

crowning proof of Manetho's untrustworthiness.¹⁰⁰ Manetho may have heard something of Moses and inserted him in what he deemed a suitable place. But why should he have ascribed to Moses such a career? Hebrew tradition certainly knew nothing of a Moses holding possession of Egypt through a number of years, pillaging the cities, violating the temples and discharging the priests. It seems to have been in native lore he found the two figures, the Heliopolitan priest Moses, the leader of an alien race in their successful revolt, and the Palestinian conqueror Osarsiph (Arsu), the dictator of Egypt, blended into one personality by the simple device of a change of name. If this tradition rests on a reliable foundation, (and it is difficult to see any motive for its invention by the Egyptians themselves) we are again directed to the time immediately preceding Setneht for the Exodus. Whatever its strength or weakness, this appears to be all the direct testimony Egypt has to offer.¹⁰¹

Speaking of Aahmes' war of deliverance, Davis and Coburn say: "The only text which at all connects the Israelites with this war is the Minaean inscription (Halévy, 535) which, according to Dr. Eduard Glaser's translation, speaks of the "Hebrews of the canal country" giving thanks to the gods for their deliverance during a time of civil war."¹⁰² Later researches led Glaser to the view that the inscription commemorates the successful escape from Egypt of certain Minaeans belonging to the Hyksos at the time when these were expelled by Aahmes, that the Ma'in Mišran are Egyptian Minaeans, and that Šar, Ašur and Ibru naharan point to the isthmus of Suez, the Wadi el Ariš and the Mediterranean coast as their home.¹⁰³ Hommel at first assigned the inscription to the same period,¹⁰⁴ but afterwards dated it in the time of the conflict between Arsu and Setneht.¹⁰⁵ The inscription was found at Barakış, the ancient Yathil (يثيل),¹⁰⁶ and records the building and dedication of some structure to Athtar (عثتر), Wadd (ود) and Nakraļ (نكرح) by Ammišadiḫ (عبيدق) and Sa'd (سعد), designated

¹⁰⁰ *Contra Apionem*, I., 31. It would be interesting to know, however, how the name was spelled in Manetho's work and in his original source, if there at all. The excerptors naturally cared for its correct spelling.

¹⁰¹ In Davis' and Coburn's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 44, there is a reference to a black jasper ring found at Tanis and dating from the Hyksos period, which has a Hebrew inscription. In reply to an inquiry, Dr. Davis writes me: "In 1878 there was exhibited in London the Egyptian collection of M. Allemant. The catalogue of this collection refers to this ring as follows: 'No. 705 San-Tanis. Black jasper. Stone of ring or seal graven in intaglio (gravé en creux) on both sides. On the front a winged serpent and two Semitic signs; on the back a Hebrew inscription. Epoch of the shepherd-kings, XVIIIth dynasty.' Unfortunately the signs and inscriptions are not given, and I do not know what has become of the collection." If this "Hebrew inscription" appears in the characters used on the Siloam stone, the pre-exilic seals and the Maccabean coins, it would be difficult to assert that it was made by Hebrews, unless this name should occur. Fenhu were in Egypt already in the sixteenth century. If the Aramean characters are used, the ring cannot belong in the Hyksos period. The Allemant collection ought to be looked up.

¹⁰² *Ancient Egypt*, p. 45; Glaser, *Skizze*, I., 1892, 57 sqq.

¹⁰³ *Skizze*, II., 1890, p. 451 sqq.

¹⁰⁴ *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, 1892, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ *I. c.*, p. 127; *Chrestomathie*, 1893, p. 104.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Müller, *Burgen*, II., p. 58 sqq. Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, XLVII., 1893, p. 408; Hommel *Chrest.*, p. 135.

as *כְּבִירֵי מִצְרַיִם* and the Ma'īnu Mišran (معین مصرین), in recognition of help given them at a time when they had been attacked by bands of Saba'u and Haulanu, while war raged between Ma'in (معین) and Raghmat (رَغْمَة)¹⁰⁷ and between the king of Yamnat (یمنَة) and the king of Ša'mat (شامة)¹⁰⁸ and because of deliverance out of the midst of Mišr (مِصْر) while there was hostility between Ma'day (مَدَى)¹⁰⁹ and Mišr, in the reign of Abiyada' Yathi' (ابییدع یثیع), king of Ma'in and Mawan (ماوان).¹¹⁰ Glaser and Hommel are undoubtedly right in referring Mišr¹¹¹ and Ma'in Mišran to Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula respectively, and in seeking for Šar, Ašr and Ibru Nabaran in the neighborhood of Egypt. Hommel points out that *أَشْر* is a broken plural of *أَشِر*,¹¹² and that consequently this word indicates the 'Ašrites, but goes on to identify them as *أَشْرِي* and the other two words as *صِر* = T'ar and *عَبْر نَهْر* = "das Ufergelände des Stromes" or "das jenseitige Ufer des Stromes," i. e. the Red Sea. I regard it more probable that Ammisadik and Sa'd, as governors under Abiyada' Yathi' over the Ma'īnu Mišran, ruled the Šar-people living in the district of the fortress T'ar, the Ašer people¹¹³ living on the Mediterranean coast, and the *עבר* people living near the Red Sea. As to these *عَبْر نَهْر*, their name presents a striking analogy to *مَعْن مَصْر*. If the latter are Egyptian Minaeans, why should not the former be Red Sea Aperiu, or even Hebrews? In one case, as in the other, the second word would designate them as only a part of a larger family. The restoration of native rule may well have forced some Tarite, Ašerite, and Aperian families to betake themselves else-

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Mordtmann, l. c., p. 408, note.

¹⁰⁸ According to Hommel, South and North, Upper and Lower Egypt, Setneht and Arsu. Adhering substantially to the ordinary significance of the two terms, I would suggest that the king of Ša'mat was Šulmanuašaridu I. (ca. 1250-1220) and the king of Yamnat, Abiyada' Yathi' against whose Sinaitic province the Mušri expedition was directed.

¹⁰⁹ The identification of these with the Maḏoy (Copt. Matl) seems to me extremely doubtful. If, as Ebers avers, in Hommel, *Aufs.*, p. 128, "die Polizeitruppe der Maḏoy" were likely to aid Setneht against Arsu, how could the writer who knows of two fighting kings in Egypt substitute this police force for the victorious "king of the south," and regard them as fighting with Egypt?

¹¹⁰ *ماوان* = Magan = Sinaitic peninsula, according to Hommel. Then it is best to consider Ma'in Mišran only as the part of this peninsula immediately adjoining Egypt.

¹¹¹ Winckler, *Akkad. Forschungen*, I, 1893, p. 24 sqq., thinks of a North Arabian country, also called Mušri, the existence of which II R. 87, 56 forces him to assume. It would not be strange, if an Assyrian scribe should have regarded Egypt as beginning at the Wadi el Arīš which even the Hebrews called *אֲרִישׁ*. Idibī'il may well have been made governor over a part of the Sinaitic peninsula which a court historian would not scruple to call Mušur. It is scarcely necessary to suppose a separate kingdom with the same name.

¹¹² *Aufsätze*, p. 8.

¹¹³ *אֲשֵׁר* = Ašer? The name of the people may have been derived from its god.

where. But is it possible that this inscription can date from the thirteenth century?¹¹⁴ The discovery of a Minaean inscription in Egypt that seems to belong to the reign of Ptolemy II. (283-247) is now declared by Halévy to have "détruit l'hypothèse qui fait remonter le royaume minéen d'Arabie avant la fondation du royaume sabéen."¹¹⁵ But who has ever denied that there was in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus a Minaean people? All the world knew that from Eratosthenes. And what is there in this inscription that even hints at the existence of a Minaean kingdom? Halévy himself has well shown that the only word that would in the remotest way indicate a political connection with South Arabia does not mean at all "l'administrateur de la communauté yéménite," as Derenbourg translated,¹¹⁶ but simply "calamus."¹¹⁷ That the Sa'al form سَعْر should have maintained itself through seven centuries is not more strange than its longer maintenance in Assyrian and Mandaic. On the other hand there is no sign of mimation. تلميث = Πτολεμαίος seems certain, and is supported by اثرحف. Whatever the interpretation given to Hal. 585, it remains a valuable testimony of how easily Semitic tribes would drift into Egypt, how completely they were able to retain their own worship, language and script, and how successfully they could escape at certain times and form alliances in the desert. It at least suggests the possibility of some Hebrew tribes living in Egypt without being much influenced by Egyptian civilization, casting in their lot with the Šasu when they were in power, faring with them in their adversity and perchance also pushing their way with them into Palestine in the beginning of the sixteenth century, thus offering a reasonable explanation of the facts now claiming our attention.

In the Amarna tablets several passages have been understood to contain references to the Hebrews. The Habiri mentioned frequently in the Palestinian letters now in Berlin¹¹⁸ have been identified as Hebrews by Zimmern¹¹⁹ and others. Milkili and mare Milkili,¹²⁰ Labawi and mare Labawi,¹²¹ were explained as early representatives of the tribes of Ašer, among whom there was a clan Malkiel, Num. xxvi. 45, and Levi, respectively, by Morris Jastrow, Jr.¹²² Scheil¹²³ called attention to the Yaudu appearing in one letter,¹²⁴ and Jastrow

¹¹⁴ Glaser, *Skizze*, I. and II., developed the historical reasons for supposing the kings of Ma'in to have reigned before the Sabaeen kingdom. Hommel, *Aufsätze und Chrestomathie*, fortified these with linguistic reasons, such as the Sa'al and the su, sa, sumu vs. Sab. Hafal, bu, ha, humu (cf. on this point also Vollers, *ZdA.*, IX., 189 sqq.), the double writing of a middle radical and the enclitic 𐤊 with a perfect in Min. and only the oldest Sab. Winckler, *I. c.*, p. 36 has been convinced. So also the learned reviewer in *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1894, Apr. 28. On the other hand. Müller, *Allg. Zeitung*, No. 31, 1890; Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, XLIV., 182; Halévy, *Revue Sém.*, 1894, p. 95, oppose this view, and Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II., 1893, p. 382 expresses doubt.

¹¹⁵ *Revue Sém.*, 1894, p. 95.

¹¹⁶ *J.A.*, 1893, Dec., p. 513.

¹¹⁷ *Revue Sém.*, 1894, p. 179 sqq.

¹¹⁸ Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna*, Berlin, 1889-90, 102, 103, 104, 108, 199.

¹¹⁹ *Palestina um das Jahr 1400 v. Chr.*, in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina Vereins*, XIII., 183-147. Cf. also Tiele, *Godsätsen in de Oudheid*, 1893, p. 285.

¹²⁰ Berlin, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110; also London, 63, 63.

¹²¹ Berlin, 103, 106; London, 61.

¹²² *JBL.*, XI., 120 sqq.

¹²³ *J.A.*, XVII., 349.

¹²⁴ Berlin, 89.

made the *ameluti* *Yaudu* precursors of the men of Judah, *Yaudu* being more nearly an equivalent of *Yehud*.¹²⁵ But the most audacious combinations and the most amazing confidence have been developed by Major Conder.¹²⁶ According to him the Hebrews first appear in monumental history in Amarna letters written about 1480 B. C. The exodus has already taken place. It is the era of Israelitish conquest of Palestine. The *Habiri* are the Hebrews. The names of Joshua's great opponents, Japhia, Jabin, and Adonizedek, appear on the tablets. This is sufficiently startling. How were these discoveries made? The name of the king of Jerusalem is rendered *Abdihibi* by Winckler, *Aradhibi* by Halévy,¹²⁷ *Abdiheba* by Zimmern,¹²⁸ *Abdu dhabba* or *Ebedtob* by Sayce,¹²⁹ *Abdu* is, of course, the equivalent of *Arad*, meaning servant. As to *Hiba*, it may be read *Taba* in some instances, but, as Conder correctly sees, not in letter 102 Berlin, where it must be *Hiba*. But, says Conder, "*Abdihibi* is an unusual name, which is unknown to history." On the other hand, the name of Joshua's contemporary is well known. It was *Adonizedek*. *Abdu* means servant and *Adoni*, lord; *Zedek* means righteousness, and *khi-ba* means "good do," whatever that is.¹³⁰ Hence Conder substitutes *Adonizedek* in his translation wherever the text has *Abdihibi*. In reality *Abdihibi* seems to designate the king of Jerusalem as the servant of *Ramman*, "the god of *Martu*,"¹³¹ as Boissier has shown.¹³² This interpretation accounts satisfactorily for both readings. The name of the governor of the city of *Khasur* is given by Budge-Bezold as *Abdi-kar-ši*.¹³³ There is some doubt about the last sign *ši*. Conder changes the whole complex into *Iebaenu*, and announces *Jabin* of *Hazor*, Josh. xi. 1, as the author of the letter.¹³⁴ There are three letters from *Yapakhi*, governor of the city of *Gezer*.¹³⁵ According to Josh. x. 33, the king of *Gezer* at the time of Joshua was *Horam*. But *Japhia* of *Lachish* is mentioned, Josh. x. 3, as an enemy of Israel. Conder therefore suggests that "the words *Gezer* and *Lachish* would not look unlike in the writing of the earlier Hebrew (about the Christian era), but it is not impossible that the two towns may have had the same king."¹³⁶ And thus *Yapakhi* of *Gezer* is identified with *Japhia* of *Lachish*. None of these identifications, except that of the *Habiri*, in my judgment, deserves serious consideration. Even that single instance does not seem to me to be beyond all doubt. The initial guttural is no valid objection, for both pointed and unpointed 'ayin are represented by *cheth* in Babylonian; nor the first vowel,

¹²⁵ *JBL.*, XII., 61 seq., cf. Tiele, l. c.

¹²⁶ *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, London, 1893.

¹²⁷ *JA.*, VI., 248, where he also admits the possible reading *Abditaba* in some places.

¹²⁸ *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., 66 (new series).

¹²⁹ Cf. Hommel, *Geschichte*, 349, 373.

¹³⁰ *Notes sur les lettres de Tell el-Amarna*, in *ZA.*, VII., 346.

¹³¹ *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, No. 48, p. lxxv.; cf. Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, London, 1893, p. 46.

¹³² l. c., p. 112.

¹³³ London, 49, 50, 51.

¹³⁴ l. c., p. 137. This I do not understand. Does Conder advocate an error in the Hebrew text? Is it his idea that *Gezer* was changed into *Lachish*, or the reverse? In either case, what becomes of *Horam*?

¹³⁵ *JA.*, XVIII., 517.

¹³⁶ l. c., p. 139.

for how the original gentilicium from the root עבר was pronounced and how nearly correctly it was vocalized in cuneiform script, we do not know; nor the fact that "the time of Amenhotep IV. is entirely too late for the first appearance of the Ibrim in Palestine,"¹³⁷ for it is nowhere implied that this was their first appearance; nor the idea that all Hebrews must have been snugly settled in Gošen at this time (about 1400), for there is nothing to prevent some of their tribes from having drifted away from their kindred. Nor am I better satisfied with the explanation of Halévy,¹³⁸ who regards them as Kaššites, for there is no evidence that Burnaburiyaš had any occasion for carrying out his threat to send troops against Amenhotep, should this monarch fail to punish the offenders at Akko, or that the Habiri were the messengers of the Babylonian king, Milkili at least representing himself as loyal to Amenhotep and the other writers never referring to them as Babylonians; or that of Sayce,¹³⁹ who explains them as "confederated tribes," for there is little evidence of any confederacy and the determinative ki accompanying the name in one place¹⁴⁰ makes it improbable that they merely passed as "allies." But I feel attracted by Jastrow's view connecting the Habiri and mare Milkili with the Ašerite clans Heber and Malkiel. And I can accept his explanation of Yaudu, without rejecting Winckler's¹⁴¹ view of Yaudi. Labawi = Levi is a more doubtful identification;¹⁴² but it is suggestive of Levi's presence that Tehutimes III. in the fifteenth century found a district named Šemana,¹⁴³ which Tomkins considers identical with Šimeon.¹⁴⁴ He also found Išpal = Joseph-el¹⁴⁵ and Yaqbal = Jacob-el.¹⁴⁶ Is it a mere chance that the important tribes so conspicuously absent in the Song of Debora, Jud. V. viz., Judah and Joseph, Levi and Simeon, are just the ones whose presence in Palestine long before the conquest, monumental history would thus allow us to trace? And that the families of Ašer, whose failure to participate in the war calls forth no word of blame or indignation, are also found in this company?¹⁴⁷ This is just what we would expect, if these tribes, whatever their relationship, never had shared the trials and religious experiences of the wilderness and the enthusiasm of the conquest, the memories of which so solemnly bound the partici-

¹³⁷ Jastrow, *JBL.*, XI., 118, 119. ¹³⁸ *JA.*, XVIII., 547. ¹³⁹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., 59.

¹⁴⁰ Berlin, 199.

¹⁴¹ *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I., 1893, 1894. May not the ameluti Yaudi have come from יָאֲדִי? This thought which I expressed in June, 1894, *Immortality and the Hadad Statue*, *JBL.*, XIII., p. 13, was also suggested in July by Halévy, *Revue Sém.*, 1894, p. 215.

¹⁴² לָבִי = priest cf. מִן. לֹאֲנִי = priest. ¹⁴³ Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 25, No. 18.

¹⁴⁴ *Records of the Past*, V., 44. ¹⁴⁵ *I. c.*, No. 78.

¹⁴⁶ *I. c.*, No. 102. That even a scholar who, in mastery of sources, breadth of view, and accuracy of critical judgment, seems to me of living historians *facile princeps*, recognizes the value of scientific conjecture, may be seen from Ed. Meyer's article on Yaḳob-El and Yoseph-El in *ZATW.*, VI., 1886, p. 189q.

¹⁴⁷ Heber and Malkiel may have been the first Ašerite clans to enter Palestine, while the main body itself lived between Gaza and Egypt even in the time of Arsu.

pants together that it was treason not to come to the help of Yahweh. But a relationship, though more remote, is by no means excluded. For all, or some of them, may have been severed from their kindred in Egypt or on the Sinaitic peninsula, and cast upon Palestine with the wave that swept the Hyksos in that direction. As to the Habiri or Heberi, the situation after the death of Amenhotep IV. invites the supposition that they succeeded in taking Kirjath Arba, giving their name Heberun or Hebron, i. e., Habiri district, to this important place. When they were driven away by the Hittites or the Amorites, in the following period, the name may have dropped, only to be resumed after the Israelitish conquest, just as the name of Jerusalem gave place to Jebus for a time, to revive again after a few centuries.

While thus suggesting the presence of elements afterwards entering into the composition of the בני ישראל, the Amarna tablets furnish absolutely no proof that the Israelitish conquests took place in the time of Amenhotep IV. Rather is their testimony evidence against such an assumption. For by the light they throw upon Palestinian history an event of that character is seen to be an impossibility yet for a long time. The fourteenth century witnessed the Hittite ascendancy in Syria, scarcely broken by the expeditions of Ramessu II. (1347-1281). Then the maritime invasion from Asia Minor under Mer-en-Ptah (1281-1269), and possibly the pressure of Assyria,¹⁴⁸ crushed the strength of the Hittite. Arsu's expedition may mark a revival of spirits in Palestine. But the Amorites became too exhausted by the campaigns of Ramessu III. to be able to resist the Hebrew tribes that then, and not until then, attacked them on a larger scale.

Thus it is impossible to assert that the Aperiu were Hebrews, that Manetho used sources coeval with the events he recorded, that the Minaean inscriptions refer to the Hebrews, or that the Amarna tablets have anything to tell concerning them. If any of the later Hebrew accounts of the Exodus is supposed to be accurate history, it is impossible to find in any inscription that has come to us from Egypt, the Desert, or Palestine the slightest knowledge of them. But with the view of early Hebrew history which a critical study of the Biblical narratives themselves suggests, it is quite conceivable that the Aperiu were Hebrews, that Manetho's story contains a kernel of real information, that the Ibru Naharan were Hebrew clans, and that the Amarna correspondence has preserved the memory of tribes afterwards members of the Bene Yisrael who already in the century before the Exodus may have attempted to enter Palestine. As for the date of this Exodus, all these sources point to the time of Arsu as the most likely to have witnessed such an event.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Jastrow, *ZA.*, VII., 189q.

ON THE HEBREW ELEMENT IN SLAVO-JUDAEO-GERMAN,

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I. INTRODUCTION.

The languages of nearly all Mohammedan countries have been influenced in some way by the Arabic. Their alphabets are adaptations of the Arabic alphabet to the needs of the foreign phonology; their vocabulary has been enriched and their grammar has been tainted by Semitic influence. The Jews had not gained sufficient political or religious supremacy and never had been present in sufficiently large numbers to influence to any considerable degree the languages of the nations among whom they lived. They spoke the tongues of their Christian fellow-citizens, and when violently torn from their surroundings and carried in compact masses to other lands, preserved in exile the language of their inhospitable stepfatherland. When they were driven from Spain and settled on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean they brought with them the Spanish idiom, which under the name of Ladino is spoken even to-day by their descendants in Turkey and the Levant. In 1553 a translation of the Old Testament into Ladino was published in Ferrara; a large number of books have appeared since on all kinds of subjects mainly from the press in Vienna. Its thorough linguistic investigation will certainly repay the student of Romance philology.

The fate of the German language among the Jews who spoke it in Germany, Russia, Galicia, Roumania, has been a very peculiar one. It is evident from the remains of the Jewish minnesaenger Süsskind and from many documents that have come down to us that up to the 15th century the language of the German Jews in no way differed from the dialects of the localities where they lived.¹

In the 16th century the German becomes vitiated by an introduction of Hebrew words, and in the following centuries this taint has grown to such pro-

¹ In an article of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* inscribed *Ein mit hebräischen Buchstaben niedergeschriebener deutscher Segen gegen die Blutmutter* by Alois Miller, the following is quoted from Gudemann: "Die Sprache des Gedichts, wie es uns vorliegt, ist im ganzen und grossen spät mittelhochdeutsch, doch enthält es meiner Ansicht nach auch althochdeutsche Reste und dürfte es wahrscheinlich viel älter sein, als nach jetziger Fassung und Niederschrift vermutet werden kann," and further: "Beachtenswert ist die eigentümliche Umschreibung des Deutschen, welche teilweise die hebräischen Vokale zu Hilfe nehmen muss. Die auch dem Laien erkennbare Korrektheit der Sprache und Schrift lässt eine genaue Bekanntschaft des Schreibers mit dem Deutschen voraussetzen."

portions as to call for special grammars. Buxtorf,¹ Wagenseil,² Pfeffer,³ have composed grammars of the Judaeo-German⁴ for the use of theological students.

In the present unsatisfactory state of the history of the Jews in Germany in the 15th and 16th centuries it is impossible to ascertain the exact causes that led to this vitiation of the German language. I hold with Güdemann⁵ that German Jews lived in Russia previous to the 16th century, and that in their insulation from German surroundings they modified the dialect they had brought with them,⁶ and as they were pre-eminently given to the study of the Talmud and the Bible, they, under these unfavorable conditions, made free use of words and expressions more familiar to them in the Hebrew form. Harkavy⁷ and still more Bershadski⁸ insist that the language of the Russian Jews previous to the Lublin Union was Slavic. The facts, however, seem to indicate a bilingualism long before that period.⁹

These Russian Jews became the teachers of the German Jewish youth.¹⁰ Thus only can be explained the presence of Slavic words in the Judaeo-German of Germany.

In Slavo-Judaeo-German, Hebrew influence appears in the use of the Hebrew alphabet, the introduction of a considerable number of Hebrew words and some grammatical forms. Before entering on the subject proper it is necessary to review the causes that led to the peculiar pronunciation of Hebrew by the Russian and Polish Jews.

¹ *Thesaurus grammaticus linguae Sanctae Hebraicae* (Basles, 1609), in the appendix to which is found the *Unus et Exercitatio lectionis Hebraeo-Germanicae*.

² J. Chr. Wagenseil's *Belehrung der Jüdisch Teutschen Red- und Schreibart*: etc. Königsberg, gedruckt in dem Jahre, 1699. *Heyl-Jahr*.

³ *Manuductio facilis ad lectionem talmudico-rabbinicam*, Sectio I: *De lectione Hebraeo-germanica*, in his *Critica Sacra*, 1680.

⁴ Cf. Aré-Lallemant, *Das deutsche Gauerthum*, Vol. III., pp. 218-240, also Lazár Saineanu, *Studiu Dialectologie asupra Graiului Evreo-German*, Bucuresti, 1889, pp. 17-29.

⁵ M. Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland während des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, p. 296.

⁶ An investigation in the dialects of Southwest Germany, on which I am now working, leads me to the conclusion that the various dialects of Slavo-Judaeo-German have their origin in Hesse-Darmstadt, Aschaffenburg and Unterfranken, i. e., in the neighborhood of Frankfurt on the Main. Heinrich Heine had surmised as much in the case of Mänscheldisch.

⁷ A. Harkavy, שפת היהודים והלאונים, Wilno, 1876. There is also a Russian translation of the work.

⁸ S. A. Bershadski, *Litovskije Jewrei*, St. Petersburg, 1883.

⁹ So, too, German Jews, in the East at least, were acquainted with Slavic, to judge from a note in Steinschneider's *Hebräische Bibliographie*, XI. Jahrgang, p. 57: "Nota quod iudei in omnibus partibus non habent idem ydionia commune quia in alemannia aliud habent ydionia commune eis et est slavicum nam audiui indeum emere et vendere cum slavo in alemannia scilicet in partibus meis. Diese worte citirt Boncompagni (*Atti dell'Accademia Pontif.*, XVI., 1883, S. 692, 721) aus dem handschriftlichen Werke des Johannes Alemanus de "pulcro rivo" [wahrscheinlich Schönbach in der Lausitz], welcher 1297-8 in Paris war (*Atti*, S. 740), bekannter unter dem Namen Johannes de Saxonla als Verf. von "Canones" über die Alphonsinischen Tabellen.

¹⁰ Cf. Güdemann, *ibid.*, pp. 295, 296.

II. PRONUNCIATION OF HEBREW.

More or less confused ideas were held even by prominent grammarians, such as Luzzatto, Gesenius, as to the correct pronunciation of Hebrew and the causes of a different pronunciation by German and Polish Jews. Some held that it was a Syriac mode of pronouncing Hebrew, others that it was a corrupt Sephardic form. Martin Schreiner¹ is the first one to prove the absurdity of either statement and to place the question on a truly scientific basis. The following words² clearly state his position: Die Aussprache des Hebräischen konnte sich unter semitischen Völkern natürlich nicht in solchem Maasse verändern und von der ursprünglichen entfernen, wie bei den in den europäischen Ländern wohnenden Juden. Anfangs mag die Aussprache der europäischen Juden nur wenig verschieden gewesen sein von derjenigen der in den Ländern des Islams lebenden, aber in dem Maasse, in welchem die in Europa wohnenden die Sprache ihres Aufenthaltes sich aneigneten, wurde ihr Sinn für die Eigenthümlichkeiten der semitischen Laute getrübt; und so sehen wir die Aussprache sich immer mehr und mehr verändern. . . . Und wenn sich schon in der Aussprache der arabischen Juden fremder Einfluss bemerkbar macht, der sie aber—und hier meinen wir diejenigen von Jemen—nicht sehr von der ursprünglichen Aussprache entfernt, so können wir in der sogenannten deutschpolnischen Aussprache, welche aber auch viele Wandlungen aufweist, nur einen Product indo-germanischen Einflusses erblicken.

But this is not all. *Not only is the pronunciation of Hebrew by the Polish Jews due to the influence of the spoken German language, but it has kept pace with the deterioration of German into Judaeo-German.* Saineanu³ grasps this fact but does not arrive at any general conclusion, nor are his statements complete.

The Hebrew consonants have their German values. **א** and **י** are toneless, since the spiritus lenis and spiritus asper do not play any part in German itself. We will see later, however, that tradition keeps up **א** as a spiritus lenis in transliterations up to our times. In **יעקב** *Jafnkeu* the **י** has become nasalized, either on account of a long *a* preceding the **ק**, or, more probably, on account of its resemblance to the Slavic name *Janko*.

ה and **ח** are respectively *h* and *ch*. These sounds were confused as early as the time of Hieronymos, and they are pronounced alike by the nations who do not distinguish between the two sounds, as for example, by the Greek Jews.⁴

ו and **י** as consonants are *j* and *w*.

¹ *Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Hebräischen.* Von Martin Schreiner, in Budapest. ZATW., Bd. VI.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 259.

³ Lazăr Saineanu, *Studiu*, etc., pp. 54-55.

⁴ The German Jews were divided in the time of Isserlein (15th century) into *Hetites* and *Chetites*, those who pronounced **ה** like German *h* or *ch*. Cf. Güdemann, *ibid.*, pp. 75 sqq.

ל, מ, נ, ר are exactly as in German. Of the twofold value of ר, as with the Arabian Jews, nothing is known.

ב and פ have, perhaps, retained their original values and are G. b and p respectively. ו and פ = G. w and f, instead of the older bh and ph, from which, naturally, w and f would be developed.

כ is G. g. Dāghēs does not change its pronunciation. German has only one k sound, hence both כ and ק are alike k.¹ צ = G. ch evidently evolved from kh. In S.-J.-G. this ch, as well as ח, is very guttural.

ך is G. d and Dāghēs does not change it. ט and ת must naturally become alike and = G. t, while ת originally th, becomes s. This will not surprise, when we consider that Germans invariably render English th by s, and that the sound of Castillian c and z is pure s in the New World.

In most countries there is no difference in the pronunciation of ס and ש; so also in Germany there was originally no difference and both sounded s. In Germany sch is generally a development of s, and so ש differentiated into ש = s and ש = sch. In the early transliterations of the Bible with Greek characters פֶּאֶרְאִשִׁית is rendered *περασιθ*. ז is G. soft s and צ = G. z.

The vowels have undergone a much more thorough change since the vowels of S.-J.-G. have experienced great mutations. B. H. Levensohn in his *יסרון לאדם* to Bensab's *לשון עברי* mixes truth with fiction in attempting to explain these peculiar changes.²

Hebrew accent is generally disregarded, and in S.-J.-G. it is placed on the penult. In many words, however, the original accent prevails, as in *אלהים* *elohim* God. In reading pointed texts the vowels generally receive their full value; in reading unpointed books Russian Jews (wherever this denomination

¹ Cf. Güdemann, *Ibid.*, pp. 77.

² Cf. pp. 198qq. of the Wilno edition of 1874. The following synopsis in English I owe to the kindness of Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, of Washington, D. C.:

Hebrew, like all original and pure languages, had the five sounds or vowels, a, e, i, o, u, which are divided in long or open ones, and short or closed ones. When the present vowel points were introduced, the signs for the long sounds were made different from those for the short ones in name and shape. Only the i sound (hîrêq) was given one sign for both, as the long i is sufficiently distinguished from the short one by its being followed by 'quiescens. Long a (qāmêq) was distinguished from the short one (pāthāh) by making the horizontal stroke somewhat broader. While thus the signs for the long and short vowels were different in name and form, and the sounds themselves differed in quantity, the quality of both, the long and the short sounds were the same. This is still the pronunciation of the Portuguese Jews and those who follow them. Not so with the German Jews and their followers in Poland, etc. They distinguish between the long and short vowels not only concerning the quantity but also the quality of sound. Thus with the Qērê (ê) they let hear something of the hîrêq (i). They were influenced by the circumstance that qērê and hîrêq are both palatal sounds, and by the people surrounding them, namely the Germans who also have the compound sound ei. With the hōlēm (ô) they sound somewhat of the šârêq (û). Here, too, both sounds are labials, and the German ou offered itself for imitation. Hîrêq and šârêq they left unaltered since the following ' and l resp., which are heard in the sounding of these vowels sufficiently distinguish the long from the short ones. Etc., etc.

I also take this occasion to thank Dr. Pietsch, of the Newberry Library of Chicago, for directing my attention to some valuable material incorporated in this essay.

occurs in the essay, Polish, Galician, Roumanian Jews as well are meant) modify the unaccented syllables as in S.-J.-G. proper. A number of accented syllables change their vowel sounds, partly in consequence of certain phonetic laws, partly because they became acquainted with these words through unpointed books where the exact pronunciation could not be ascertained. In the following examples most of the words have become naturalized in S.-J.-G. and the pronunciation is that of the Lithuanian Jews, unless otherwise stated. The letters in transliteration have their German values, and $\text{z} = \text{G. soft s}$, $\text{z} = \text{French } j$.

German \bar{a} has in most dialects developed into \bar{o} , in S.-J.-G. under Slavic influence into \bar{o} ; German \bar{a} and \bar{o} remain \bar{a} and \bar{o} respectively. Hence $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{äth}^{\text{h}}$ is pronounced \bar{a} , $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{ç}$ and $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{ç}$ $\text{h}^{\text{ä}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{äp}^{\text{h}}$ are both \bar{o} .¹ b^{r} $\text{f}^{\text{l}}\text{o}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{h}}$ (nh.) *bar plügte* opponent, k^{h} $\text{k}^{\text{o}}\text{f}^{\text{a}}\text{ch}$ strength; $\text{ch}^{\text{ö}}\text{ch}^{\text{m}}$ $\text{w}^{\text{i}}\text{sdom}$, $\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{w}^{\text{o}}\text{n}$ $\text{m}^{\text{o}}\text{o}^{\text{n}}$, $\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}^{\text{o}}\text{ch}$ $\text{w}^{\text{o}}\text{r}^{\text{k}}$.

In the South and in Poland this \bar{o} has further developed into a dull u ,² hence the last two words would sound there *lewüne, melüche*.

Two \bar{a} following each other in the same syllable become $\bar{ä}$ (through original \bar{a}) if no other syllable follows, otherwise \bar{a} in Poland, $\bar{a}j$ in Lithuania and even \bar{a} (an nasalized) in Bessarabia and Roumania.³ $\text{b}^{\text{a}}\text{l}$ $\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{l}^{\text{o}}\text{ch}$ $\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{s}^{\text{a}}\text{n}$, $\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{s}^{\text{h}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{m}^{\text{u}}\text{l}^{\text{t}}$, noise, $\text{k}^{\text{a}}\text{s}$ $\text{a}^{\text{n}}\text{g}^{\text{e}}\text{r}$; $\text{g}^{\text{ä}}\text{j}^{\text{w}}$ (in Poland *gäwe*, in Roumania *gäwe*) $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{d}}$ e, $\text{t}^{\text{ä}}\text{w}$ (in Poland *täwe*, in Roumania *täwe*) $\text{p}^{\text{a}}\text{s}^{\text{s}}\text{i}^{\text{o}}\text{n}$, $\text{d}^{\text{ä}}\text{j}^{\text{g}}$ (for bibl. $\text{d}^{\text{ä}}\text{j}^{\text{g}}$) $\text{t}^{\text{r}}\text{o}^{\text{u}}\text{b}^{\text{l}}$ e, care.

\bar{o} is rare and becomes \bar{o} , $\text{s}^{\text{h}}\bar{o}$ (nh.) *schö*, (schü in the South) $\text{h}^{\text{o}}\text{u}^{\text{r}}$. More generally the contraction does not take place, $\text{h}^{\text{a}}\text{n}^{\text{o}}$ (nh.) *hanö* enjoyment, $\text{h}^{\text{a}}\text{s}^{\text{r}}\bar{o}$ (nh.) *hasrö* warning.

If \bar{a} is followed by h the second \bar{a} disappears. $\text{m}^{\text{ä}}\text{ch}^{\text{n}}$ $\text{h}^{\text{o}}\text{s}^{\text{t}}$, $\text{a}^{\text{ch}}\text{r}^{\text{ä}}\text{j}^{\text{e}}\text{s}$ $\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{s}^{\text{k}}$ (for nh. $\text{a}^{\text{ch}}\text{r}^{\text{ä}}\text{j}^{\text{e}}\text{s}$ risk).

In a large number of words $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{ç}$ is pronounced like \bar{a} , probably because of the word appearing more frequently in the construct or other grammatical form, where $\text{p}^{\text{ä}}\text{th}^{\text{h}}$ takes the place of the $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{ç}$. $\text{b}^{\text{i}}\text{n}^{\text{f}}$ $\text{a}^{\text{x}}\text{i}^{\text{o}}\text{m}$ (nh.) *bínfen ax* axiom $\text{t}^{\text{ä}}\text{m}$ (cf. $\text{t}^{\text{ä}}\text{m}$, $\text{t}^{\text{ä}}\text{m}$) $\text{e}^{\text{f}}\text{s}^{\text{h}}$ $\text{ä}^{\text{c}}\text{h}$ $\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{s}^{\text{t}}\text{e}^{\text{r}}\text{-i}^{\text{n}}\text{-l}^{\text{a}}\text{w}$, $\text{d}^{\text{ä}}\text{n}$ $\text{l}^{\text{e}}\text{k}^{\text{ä}}\text{f}$ $\text{g}^{\text{e}}\text{h}^{\text{u}}\text{s}$ to take the best view of a person, $\text{m}^{\text{ä}}\text{n}$ $\text{m}^{\text{ä}}\text{n}^{\text{n}}$, $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{m}}$ $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{j}^{\text{o}}\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{s}^{\text{c}}\text{h}$ warm and dry, $\text{s}^{\text{ä}}\text{d}^{\text{i}}\text{n}$ $\text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{\text{e}}\text{t}$,

¹ The examples are mainly from Levensohn's notes, as above, pp. 19sq.; nh. stands for neohebraic.

² This I take to be Slavic influence. Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Slavischen Sprachen*, Vol. I., p. 490, has the following: unbetontes \bar{o} lautet in vielen gegenden klr. wie u : $\text{k}^{\text{u}}\text{t}^{\text{r}}\bar{o}\text{h}^{\text{u}}$ d. i. $\text{k}^{\text{o}}\text{t}^{\text{r}}\bar{o}\text{h}^{\text{o}}$. Dieselbe regel gilt für das bulg. und das rumun.; wr. dagegen lautet unbetontes \bar{o} nach der r. regel wie aaltes \bar{o} wird unter bestimmten bedingungen, unter denen es ehemals lang war, im N. und im S. durch u , ou ersetzt an dessen stelle in der mittleren region i tritt, das ich durch \bar{o} bezeichne: \bar{o} , u , uo , \bar{o} ; $\text{v}^{\text{u}}\text{j}^{\text{s}}\text{k}^{\text{o}}$ neben $\text{v}^{\text{o}}\text{j}^{\text{s}}\text{k}^{\text{o}}$ nd.

In Poland $\bar{o} = u$. In precisely these localities does German and Hebrew \bar{o} (from \bar{a}) become u ; in Poland it sounds like ue .

³ In the same localities German $\text{ei} = a$, as in $\text{w}^{\text{ä}} = \text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{i}^{\text{n}}$, wine.

מִתִּיר דָּם (cf. דָּם נָקִי) *māsir dām* he who bleeds, כְּתָב (nh.) *ksaw* scriptum, נָע וָנָר (nh.) *nawendā* wandering, vagrant, מֵיֵאֵשׁ (nh.) *mejāsch* despairing, תָּנִן (nh.) *tēnān* we learn, חַתָּנִים *chasānīm* bridegrooms, כָּלָל (nh.) *klal* general, rule, פָּרַט (nh.) *frat* special, הַיּוֹת (nh.) *hawōjēs* discussions. This is generally the case before *ch*, מַלְאָךְ *mlāch* angel. מִזְרַח *mīzraḥ* Orient, East, סָךְ *sach* a great deal, much.

Çērê = *ē* (*ej*), but *aj* in Poland,¹ S'ghôl = *ē*, Š'wâ = unaccented German *e*. בַּעַל עֲבִירָה *balawéjre* sinner, חֵן *chejn* grace, תֵּבָה *téjwe* ark; נֶפֶשׁ *néfesch* soul; לְכָבוֹד *lekowéd* in honor of, מַלְמֶד *melamed* teacher.

In closed syllables and in a few others çērê is pronounced like *ē*. אֱלִיָּהוּ *elijóhu* Elijah, אָב וָאִם *ow weém* father and mother, בֵּית דִּין (nh.) *besdín* judicial court, גֵּר *ger* stranger, הַגָּזֵר *réjschis hagéj* the first offering of the shearing, גֵּט *get* divorce, יָשָׁר (nh.) *sched* evil spirit, לֵץ *lez* (bibl. scorner, scoffer) ghost, goblin, גַּר תָּמִיד *gar tēmid* the lamp before the ark of the scrolls, עַל חַטָּא *alché* litany in the ritual of Atonement day.

In open accented syllables s'ghôl generally becomes *ej* (*ē*). מֶלֶךְ *mélēch* king, פֶּסַח *péjsach* Passover, צֵלֶם *zéjlem* cross, חֶדֶר *chéjder* school, קֶבֶר *kéjwer* grave, פֶּגֶר *péjger* carcass, שְׁכִין *schéjgez* urchin, כָּפַל *kéjfel* multiply.

Š'wâ, whether quiescens or mobile, is silent wherever the consonants form a group easy of enunciation to Slavic or German, or when the consonants belong to two separate syllables. Hašûph has no effect on the vowel. בִּשְׁלָמָא (nh.) *bischlôme* granted, גְּבוּל *gwul* border, דְּוִיקָא (nh.) *dawke* by all means, וְתֵרֵן (nh.) *wétrén* liberal giver, סְחֹרָה *s-chôjre* goods. But when š'wâ is an evident development of a vowel in a word already in use in S.-J.-G. the original vowel is sounded, as in גָּנְבָה (from גָּנַב *gānew* thief) *ganéjwe* what is stolen.

Hirēq is *i* except before *ר* when it may sound *e* as in words of German origin. בְּרִיָּה (nh.) *bérje* a thorough workman, תִּירָן (nh.) *térez* reason.

German *o* has developed a large number of sounds in Judæo-German. German Jews pronounce it *ou* or *au*; the Polish and Southern Jews pronounce it *aj*; in Lithuania it gets the umlaut and sounds *ōj*, which in many localities is flattened and sounds *ej*. Accordingly hōlēm has undergone the same changes. תוֹרָה *tōure*, tōjre, tōjre, tējre Holy Writ, מִכָּה *mikōjach* in regard to, טוֹבָה *tōjwe* kindness.

In closed syllables, however, *o* has changed to *ō*. מוֹל טוֹב *mōzeltow* good luck, יוֹם טוֹב *jōntew* holiday, יוֹרְשִׁים *jōrschīm* heirs, שׁוֹפְטִים *schōftīm* judges, שׁוֹנִים *sonīm* enemies, תוֹלְדוֹת *tōldes* history, רוֹצְחִים *rōzchīm* murderers, אֲפִיקוֹרְסִים (nh.) *apikōrsīm* heretics, קוֹל *kol* voice, דּוֹר *dor* generation, סוֹף *sof* end.

¹ So, too, *geh'*, *schnee* sounds in the Polish dialect *gaj*, *schnaj*.

In Poland and the South *u* through the umlaut has become *i*, hence *šûrâq* and *qîbbûq* sound there *i*. גִּדְלָה *gîlê* joy, מְשֻׁמֵּר (nh.) *meschimêd* apostate. In Lithuania both remain *u*. רֹחַ *ruach* devil, רְשׁוּת (nh.) *reschûs* permission, possession.

Unaccented posttonic syllables (except ים and ת) invariably change their vowels to *e*. רֹפֵא *rôife* physician, מִמְזֵר *mâmzer* bastard, סוֹפֵר *sôifer* scribe; תּוֹרָה *tôire* Holy Writ, שִׂמְחָה *simche* joy, מִנְחָה (nh.) *minche* evening prayer; צְדָקוֹת *zâdokes* and *gâdokes* alms, יוֹם כִּפּוּר (nh.) *jonkipêr* Atonement day. But רֹחַ *ruach* devil, גִּזְלָנִים (nh.) *gazlônîm* robbers. So also ה in compound words becomes toneless *e*. בַּעַל הַבַּיִת *balebôs* master of the house, or is entirely neglected as in הַמְדֵרֶשׁ בֵּית *besmêdresch* synagogue.

III. TRANSLITERATION.

The Jews of nearly all civilized countries in the Middle Ages wrote the languages of their Christian fellow citizens with Hebrew characters. The oldest documents so far investigated reach back into the thirteenth century.¹ A system of transliteration, fairly uniform for all countries, had been established before this time, and I shall attempt the proof that the German way, and with it the S. J.-G. way, of transliteration is a direct development of the French, Provencal and Spanish mode of writing with Hebrew characters.

All agree that the Jews tried not only approximately but even exactly to render the pronunciation of the European idioms.² Originally only three letters were used to represent all possible vowel sounds, namely א, י, ך. In Ladino,³ where the number of vowels is smallest, א represents *a*, י stands for *e* and *i*, ך

¹ Ein mit hebräischen Buchstaben niedergeschriebener deutscher Segen gegen die Bärnmutter by Alois Miller, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur, No. 19, cf. above.

Histoire littéraire de la France, Vol. XXVII., pp. 439 and 440, Jehouda ben Eléazar; p. 442, Un autre élève d'Élyaqim; p. 540 Menahem se sert de mots provençaux ou plutôt catalans; extrait des gloses du Manuscrit de Paris 207; extrait des gloses du manuscrit de Parme 582; extrait des gloses du manuscrit Halberstam.

Deux Élégies du Vatican, Arsène Darmstetter, Romania, 3, pp. 443 sqq.

Les Roman Provençal d'Esther par Cresca Du Caylar, Médecin Juif du XIV^e siècle. Neubauer & Meyer, Romania 21 (1892), pp. 194-227.

De Vocabulis Franco-gallie Judaeis transcriptis, disseruit Eduardus Boehmer, Romanische Studien, I., pp. 197 sqq.

Der Vocabularchabe y von M. St. (Steinschneider), Hebräische Bibliographie, VI., p. 119.

² Cf. p. —. Ein mit hebräischen Buchstaben, etc.

Deux Élégies du Vatican: Ce qui importe, c'est de savoir que l'écrivain juif avait le sentiment d'une différence de prononciation entre les diverses syllabes.

Güdemann, *Geschichte*, etc. as above, p. 292: Aus der vorstehenden Uebersicht ergibt sich, dass die jüdisch-deutsche Orthographie der deutschen angepasst und dass sie kunstvoll und planmässig angelegt ist. Wenn Steinschneider (Serapeum 1864, S. 129) von einer Handschrift des Sittenbuches sagt: "Die Orthographie ist auch hier eine sehr schwankende," so kann man dasselbe Urtheil über die Orthographie jedes deutschen Buches aus dieser Zeit fällen.....Dieser Verwirrung gegenüber stellt man der jüdisch-deutschen Orthographie ein sehr ehrendes Zeugnisse aus, wenn man sie bloss "schwankend" nennt.

³ The only book I have been able to consult on Ladino is a prayer book published in Vienna about 30 years ago; in the main the spelling has not been changed in the last 400 years.

German transliteration follows the same rules. Anciently א was used for *a* and posttonic (final) *e*; ם is *e* and *i*; ן stands for *o* and *u*. In *Ein mit hebräischen Buchstaben niedergeschriebener deutscher Segen* א is not used as a spiritus lenis. לֵיגֶדֶךְ leg dich, בּוֹכֶה buche, לֵיגֶן legen, רֶחֶטֶה rechte, וִישׁ visch, מִינְשְׁלִיכִשׁ menschlichs, דְּרִיֶּה drie, יִנְשְׁטִיט instet, וִילִיוִשׁ wilius. In the Judaeo-German glosses of R. Moses Haddarschan of the 13th century,¹ the vowels have the same values and א occurs as a spiritus lenis. In a few cases in both manuscripts does ם appear as an accented *e*. What led to the introduction is hard to ascertain. Its use did not become universal before the 16th century.²

Isserlein (d. 1460) gives in his appendix to the "Sittenbuch" a number of rules for writing German with Hebrew characters. Güdemann discusses them in note VII. of his *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland während des XIV. u. XV. Jahrhunderts*, but generally fails to grasp the reason for the use of certain combinations.

1. "Erstlichen is zu wissen dz ein Jud bringt ein Chirek un' ein Zere."

Güdemann sees in this a proof of the antiquity of Hebrew transliteration, because Gothic *i* becomes German *e*, etc. In reality this is taken bodily from the Romance languages where ם had to do service for *e* and *i*.

2. "Un ein Alef bringt ein Kamez un' ein Patach."

For example וואהנהאפטיג = wohnhaftig. Since long *a* became *ø*, א naturally followed the same mutation. This innovation did not take root till the next century.

3. "Un ein Waw bringt ein Melo-pum (Schurek) un ein Cholem." This is again Romance usage.

4. "Un ein Ayin bringt ein Segol."

5. "Un wenn zwai Juden sein so is die letter die dar vor stet al mol gepüntelt (gepüntelt, vacalisirt, dh. man hat sich dieselbe vocalisirt zu denken) mit einem Patach un' dz Jud mit einem Schwa un' dz ander Jud macht ein zeichen dz es kein Chirek is gleich als ם = ain, צוויי = zwai דריי, un' das fehlt gar selten."

Güdemann sees in it again a proof that the Jews transliterated German with Hebrew characters at a time when *weib* was written *wip*. (Hier haben wir also abermals einen Rest des altdeutschen Jüdischdeutsch. Güd.). As in Old French, *ei* is merely rendered by ם, and when *ei* was pronounced *ai*, ם still remained to express this sound.

6. "Un' ein Alef so es hinden stet nach einem Püntel so tut es niks denn es macht der Geschrift ein Zirunge gleich als די = di (die)."

¹ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien*, von Dr. Joseph Perles, München, 1884.

² Cf. Der Vocalbuchstabe ם von M. St., *Hebräische Bibliographie*, VI., p. 119.

* is *i* and with the older writers atonic *e*; ך is *u*. ם stands for *e* (*ej* = *ei*) and *aj*, ן for *ou*, *oj*, *öj* and *ej* according to the dialect. This might have been expected since these sounds are developments of *au* and *ö* (or *o*). When *oj* stands for *o* the older writers employed ך alone. Some Southern authors write ם for *oj*. In the South ם sounds also as *u*, when this is a development of *o*, and ך like *i*.

The orthography in vogue with the best writers of the day in Russia is a compromise between phonetic spelling and German writing and attempts to render the words in such a way that Polish, Lithuanian and Southern Jews may readily recognize it. In the most excellent collection of S.-J.-G. literary productions "Di Jidische Folksbibliothek," Mr. Rabinowitsch puts down the following rules:

1. Me darf schrajben jidesch, agöj wi me ret.
2. Me darf schrajben agöj, ag saj der pöjlischer lezer, saj der litwak golen konen ferschtejn.
3. Jeder Żargonist darf gedenken ag er schrajbt žargón, d. h. mer farn folk, farn ם.

4. Dos auslejen fun di dajtsche werter darfen gajñ mer nohent zu dajtsch.

5. Es darf gajñ a חילוק zwischen werter wos weren glajch ouseret un hoben zwejerlej bedajtung, למשל: שטיין-*stein* un שטעהן-*stehn*; צעהן-*zehn* un צאהן-*Zähne*; זעהר-*zeher* (ihr) un זעהר-*sehr*; וועיניג-*weinig* un וועניג-*wenig* (if the latter word were written in accordance with its pronunciation it would be written ווייניג, and would thus only differ in the vowel points); ציילען-*zajlen* (Zeilen, Reihen) un צעהלען-*zählen*; איר-*ir* (Sie) un איהר-*ihr*; זון-*Sonne*, זון-*Sohn* un זין-*Sinn* (the first two sound *zun* in Lithuania, but all three are pronounced *gin* in the South. פער-*vier* un פיהר-*ich führe*; אן דעם-*daran* (an dem) un אהן דעם-*ohne dem*; פיעל-*viel* un פיהל-*ich fühle*).

If to this will be added that Hebrew words are spelled as in Hebrew, the chaotic state of spelling in S.-J.-G. becomes evident. It is to be hoped that some authoritative writer, such as Abramowitsch, will introduce a more sensible and simple spelling reform or at least revert to the older, less objectionable, spelling of the last century. For one not versed in S.-J.-G. it becomes an impossibility even to guess at the probable sound of a written word. The vowel points occur only in some books printed not with rabbinical type and are somewhat of an aid since pāthāth = *a*, qāmāç = *ō*, s'ghōl = *e*, çērē = *ej*, šūrēq = *u*, hîrēq = *i*, š'wā is always silent.

Consonantal transformations differentiate more readily in the different languages than vowel changes, hence there is a greater tendency to develop independently. Yet, on the whole, it can be easily shown that German transliteration of consonants has developed directly from the Romance. I suspect that Ladino of to-day has introduced some changes, especially in rendering Spanish *s*, that were not common in the Middle Ages, and Ladino is introduced here only for completeness' sake.

In Ladino כ and פ are *b* and *p* respectively; the same with raphe, ב, פ are *v* and *f*, כ and ק are *g*, *k* (*c*, *qu*); י is *j* (*g*); ד is not used. ר and ט (ת is not used) express *d* and *t*. ך stands for *s* or *z* between vowels; this is due to the fact that anciently such *s* or *z* was pronounced softly like English *z*; ס answers Spanish *s* and *ç*. ל, מ, נ, ר are *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*; I believe ך occurs for *ñ*. ף as a consonant is = *y*. Compare examples as above.¹

In Catalan the same letters hold; but ש much more frequently than ס stands for *s*, both ך and צ corresponds to *z*, perhaps with a different pronunciation.

The same is still true of Provençal Proper. ה = Pr. *ch*; ך = *z* = soft *s*; י = Pr. *nh*; ך = Pr. *j*; ן = Pr. *v*; ש = *s*; צ = *ç*.

פֿריקוואַרשׁ ווִינר ר' יצחק כהן רֶקֶרִיר
קִיצָא טוֹרֶנט ווִיר לור קִרְיָאָצָא אוֹאִילִי קִוְנֶרֶט פֿרִיר
אִידִיט קאַבֿײַשׁ טֶנַט גֶאוּל פֿור גִי מוֹרִיר.

Préchors vínret R. Içhak Cohen rekerir

K'i se tornat ver lor creacè o il li kevanret perir

I dit: Ke avés tant? Je vol por Gé morir.

In the Langue d'Oïl the consonants are the same as in Provençal, but, of course, י does not occur; rarely ס stands for ש = *s*.

To express the guttural sound *ch* in German, Jews very early began to use כ but never ך. *S* and *sch* are both written ש; in French *ch* is generally a development of *k*, hence it was natural to write it with כ; similarly in German *sch* is usually a development of *s*, hence ש had to do service for both. *W* is rendered by ן as in Romance, and *v* by ן or ב. In all other respects there is no difference between Romance and German usage. We saw ס creeping in in Romance in place of ש; in Judæo-German it has finally come to entirely replace ש.

There is no material difference between consonantism of Judæo-German and Slavo-Judæo-German. ן and never כ is used for *w*, hence only one letter occurs with raphe, namely פ for *f*; in printed books פ stands more generally for *p* and פ for *f*. The Slavic sound *z* is written זש, and the semi-vowel *y*, or consonant *y* (G. *j*), is expressed by י.

To illustrate Slavo-Judæo-German spelling a few examples are subjoined.

עשׁ וואַר דער מיט דאָ שטאַט אויף. אַלטע לייט זאָגן דאָש מען
האַט דאָרטן אַין גרײַצט דעם דאָמאַוואַי אַנ וועלן אַלזו שוין גיט
בלייבן רוהיג ביז מען וועט דאָש הויז אין נאָנצן אָפּ ברעכן.

Es war dermit di schtot ouf. Alte lajt zogen dos men hot dorten ajn gerejzt
dem domowój un welen algój schöjn nit blajben rüig big men wet dos houz in
ganzen op brechen.

¹ Since writing this, the following essay has appeared: R. Foulché-Delbosc, *La transcription hispano-hébraïque* in the *Revue Hispanique*, Numéro I., Mars 1894.

Of course, the orthography is here inconsistent, but it is evident that in the main Mr. Dick (a writer of novels in the Lithuanian dialect of S.-J.-G.) is following the older form of the Middle Ages. Another author, J. M. Lipschitz, writing in the Southern dialect, introduces a few consistent changes, namely: א' for *oj*, עי for *ej*, א for *u* = original *o*), but does not himself carry out his own rules:

מיינט ניט אז דיא יודישע שפראך איז ארימער פֿין דער העברע
ישטר, ווייל דער דאזיקער חלק ווערטערב" איז אפֿשר צי קליין פֿאר
אייד.

Mejnt nit az di jidische schprach iz urimer fin der hebrejischer, wajl der dogiker chejlek werterbich iz efscher zi klejn far ajch.

Final א after vowels is now generally discarded by Jargonists, as in Abramowitsch's translation of the psalm:

עס וויגט די ערד זיך, שטורעמט אוינטען
עס ציטערן פון בערג די גרונטען.
קראך! קראך! אט וואלען זיי זיך איין
ווי באלד ער קומט אין בעס אריין.

Es wigt di erd zich, schturemt unten
Es zitem fun berg di grunten.
Krach! Krach! Ot walen gej zich ajn
Wi bald er kumt in kas arajn.

NOTES ON SEMITIC GRAMMAR.

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I.

THE FIRST VOWEL OF THE IMPERFECT TENSE-STEM.

The present forms of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic imperfect of the simple stem (Qal, Pe'al, L.) show the complete *absence* of a vowel between the first and second radicals, cf. the types יִקְטֹל, תִּמְצֵחַ, תִּמְצֵחַ, יִקְטֹל. Hence the possibility of forms like יִפֹּל, יִגֵּשׁ, יִתֵּן, תִּפְצֵחַ, etc. Because it is commonly supposed that Old Arabic possesses a fuller vocalization than any other Semitic dialect—cf. e. g. an ordinary word like ذَرَّاعٌ = زَرَّاعٌ (أَزْرَعُ)—the inference is evidently justified that, where an Arabic form presents vocalic scarcity, we are treading upon common Semitic ground. The type yaqtul, etc. is pronounced to be the original (Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 181), while the Hebrew יַעֲמֹד and יַעֲמְדוּ are represented as "Zerdehnungen" of the archetype and as resultants of a phonetic decay peculiar to Hebrew (*ibid.*, p. 91 sq.; Stade, *Hebraeische Gram.*, §102). I think that I have sufficient evidence to prove that the form yaqtul, etc. presupposes an earlier form of the type yaqvtul (by v I indicate a full vowel the exact character of which I propose to determine in the second part of my paper), etc.

I. Argument from *consistency*. Philippi, in an article published in the *Morgenlaendische Forschungen* (pp. 69-106), which it was not my privilege to peruse till shortly before writing these lines, has made it a point to derive all other stems of the verb from the simple stem, or, as he calls it, the "Grundstamm," not merely the أَنْوَاع of the type فَعَلَ a. فاعِل, but notably the augmented stems. Thus, نَقَلَ compared with نَقَطَل goes back to na+qatal, saqtal to sa+qatal, 'aqtal to 'a+qatal, etc. (p. 73). He compares (p. 74) لָכַתַּב = לָכַתַּב, evidently thinking of לָצַבַּא Num. viii. 24, to which I would add הִצְפִּינוּ, Ex. ii. 3, and of nominal prefixed forms מְמַרְרִים Job ix. 18; מְמַתְקִים Cant. v. 16 and others. The reason for the disappearance of the first vowel of the stem is not far to seek. It appears from several sources (cf. *ibid.*, p. 78) that prefixed forms, unless stronger motives came into play, allowed in earliest times the

main accent to fall upon the syllable containing the prefix, thus subjecting the next vowel to complete want of stress and hence of articulation. Why not be consistent and derive yaqtul, etc. from an older ya'qvtul, etc.?

II. Argument from *infinitives* of the type qutl a. qetōl. Philippi (l. c., p. 81) perceives the difficulty of explaining Arabic yaqtul (I substitute qtl for his ktb) compared with the infinitive qutl (kutb), with which he puts together Hebrew כָּתַבְי (with hard כ—e. g. הִכֵּי Gen. xix. 21—which is by the way the exception; the rule is כָּתַבְי) as over against כָּתַב. Shall we believe in migration (metathesis) of vowels? Lagarde, (*Uebersicht*, p. 153) knows that qutl and qetōl go back to one common form, qutul, of which the former is the paroxytone and the latter the oxytone. Why not go a step further, and say that yaqtul = ya' + qutul?

III. Argument from the *imperative*. To the type, yaqtul belongs the imperative أَقْتُلْ = Hebrew קָטַל which latter, if compared with קָטַלָה—e. g. מָלַךְ Jd. ix. 8—a. קָטַלְנִי—e. g. הִרְגֵנִי Num. xi. 15—leaves no doubt as to what the י in קָטַל stands for. The imperative is nothing but the imperfect (jussive) minus the preformative (of the second person). Hence קָטַל qutul' presupposes ta' + qutul.

IV. Argument from a *comparison of the imperfects* I., II. and VII. The imperfect forms of the intensive and N reflexive stems (II. a. VII.) show the existence of a vowel (the same vowel) between the first and second radicals: יִקְטֹל יִנְקֹל, נִקְטֹל יִנְקֹל. The Arabic language has many imperfects in the I. of the type yaqtıl. In Hebrew we find יָמַן, יָלַד, etc., in Biblical Aramaic יָפַל, in Syriac نَحَض. We may also compare the impf. of the IV.: یُقَتِّلُ and, without for the present laying stress upon the vowel of the preformative, put down the following imperfect types as related: I. yaqtıl, II. yuqattıl, IV. yuqtıl, VII. yanqatıl. Does the relationship merely consist in the identity of the second vowel of the stem (i), or does it extend further? The analogy of the perfect on the one hand, and the additional identity of the first vowel of the stem (a) in two of the imperfects (II. and VII.) should help to answer our question. If, with Philippi (l. c.), we see in qattal and qâtal (III.) modified types of qatal, we shall have similarly to look for a "Grundstamm" to (yu) qattıl, i. e. we have to postulate ya' + qatıl, which indeed we find reproduced also in yanqatıl = ya'naqa'tıl. The first vowel of the stem remains if stressed, and disappears if unaccented. Thus, ya'qatıl becomes yaqtıl.

V. Argument from *Ethiopic*. Ethiopic (cf. Wright, l. c., p. 181) indeed has preserved the type yaqatıl in allowing the first vowel of the stem to be

accented: $y\acute{e}q\acute{a}t\acute{e}l$. It uses the latter form for the Arabic indicative, while it differentiates the $y\acute{e}q\acute{a}t\acute{e}l = ya'qatil$ for the subjunctive and jussive.

VI. Argument from *infinitives of the type qatil*. The relation of the s. c. infinitive construct in Hebrew to the imperfect is obvious (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 152): $קָטַל : יִקְטֹל = קָטַל : יִקְטֹל = יִקְטֹל : הִקְטֹל$, etc. We must agree with Professor Barth (l. c., p. 103 sq.) in connecting nouns like $גָּזֵל$ etc. with $יִגְזֹל$ etc. Hence $קָטַל$ is the exact prototype of $קָטַל, הִקְטֹל$ etc. in the same manner as the s. c. infin. absolute $קָטוּל$ explains $קָטַל, נִקְטֹל$ etc. (*ibid.*, p. 72) and $יִגְזֹל = ya\ g\acute{a}zil$.

We shall now proceed to our next task, viz. to determine the exact character of the first vowel in the "Grundstamm" of the imperfect, the existence of which in common Semitic we have endeavored to prove from six independent points of view. Some of the sources already adduced will help us in obtaining our aim.

I. The imperative forms in Hebrew and Arabic. $קָטַל$ compared with $קָטַלְנִי, קָטַלְנִי$ (v. *supra*) and the rarer $קָטַלְנִי$ —e. g. $מִלְכִּי$ Jd. ix. 10—points to $qutul$ with which goes Arabic $uqtul$, i. e., the prefixed element is identical with the disappearing stem vowel.— $فَعَلَ, فَعَلْ, فَعِلْ$ point to $qital$, $إِضْرِبْ$ to $qitil$. Hence we obtain the following three types: 1. $qutul$; 2. $qitil$; 3. $qital$. The first and second forms are at once intelligible; not so the third. For if the principle be found in the assimilation of the first vowel to the second, we should expect the third type to be $qatal$.

II. The common Hebrew infinitives $קָטַל$, with suffixes $קָטַלְנִי, קָטַלְכֶם = qorobekem$, with $שָׂכַב$ point again to 1. $qutul$; 3. $qital$. If Barth's explanation of forms like $נָפַל$ (Hebr. imperf. $יָפַל$, Bibl. Aram. $יָפַל$, $שָׁכַב$, Hebr. $יָשָׁב$, Arab. $يَتَبَرَّ$) etc. (l. c., p. 104) be correct, we shall equally obtain for the second type the form $qitil$. In Arabic, we find as ordinary infinitive forms: 1. $qutul$, e. g. $قَتَلَ$ (impf. $يَقْتُلُ$); 2. $qatil$, e. g. $كَذَبَ$ (impf. $يَكْذِبُ$), which type is easily recognized in Hebrew $בָּעַר, גָּרַר, גָּזַל$, etc.; 3. $qatal$, e. g. $חָרַג$ cf. $يَخْرُجُ$, represented in Hebrew in forms like $אָשַׁם, צָמָא, רָעַב$ (impf. $יִרָעַב, יִצְמָא, יִאָשֵׁם$); also $qital$ and $qutul$ (for fuller examples cf. Barth, l. c., pp. 101, 103, 105, 106). If $qutl$ be the paroxytone of $qutul$ (v. *supra*), Arab. $كَذَبَ$ by the side of $كَذِبَ$ can be explained only by assuming $*كَذِبَ$ (paroxytone) as a medium (cf. Lagarde, l. c., p. 8, l. 25—p. 9, l. 12); similarly Hebr.

גָּזַל compared with גָּזַל; hence the existence of 2. qatil in Arabic is proven. It is needless for me to reproduce Professor Barth's list of nouns, the connection of which with the imperfect tense-stem can not be doubted. I must refer the reader to the book itself. Thus from the various forms of imperfect nouns we obtain the following types for the imperfect tense-stem: 1. qatul, qutul; 2. qatil, qital; 3. qatal, qital, qutal.

III. The imperfect forms of the II. and VII. prove the existence of 2. qatil.

IV. Similarly Ethiopic *yəqátəl*.

V. The vowel of the preformative may be taken as an index of the character of the lost stem vowel. *أَقْتُلْ*, *أَفْعَلْ*, *أَضْرِبْ* justify this assumption. Hence *يَقْتُلْ* points to *yaqatul*, *يُقْتَلْ* to *yuqutul*. (I think that *yīqtōl* stands for *yōqtōl*, cf. *רִאשׁוֹן* = *רִאשׁ + וֹן* = *תִּכּוֹן* = *תִּכּ + וֹן*, etc., notably *חֲצִנִּי* ψ CXXXIX. 7 compared with *חֲצִנִּי* Neh. v. 13 a. *חֲצִן* Is. XLIX. 22; cf. also Barth, l. c., p. 24; also *Θαδμύρ*, *Θαδμύρ* = *תְּדַמֵּר*—Lagarde, l. c., p. 125 note.) *يَفْعَلْ* presupposes *yaqatal*, *يَقْبَلْ*—*yīqital*; *يَضْرِبْ* points to *yaqatil*, *يَتَن* to *yīqital*. We obtain again the types: 1. qatul, qutul; 2. qatil, qital; 3. qatal, qital.

VI. Hebrew *יַעֲמֹד*, *יַעֲשֶׂה* = *ya'amud*, *ya'ašamû*. With the former compare *עָמַד* = *עָמַד*. We find once more: 1. qatul; 3. qatal.

VII. *Ἰσαάκ* cf. *יִצְחָק* Gen. XXI. 6 leads us to postulate 3. qatal.

VIII. Occasional Hebrew forms—*תַּעֲבֹדֶם* Ex. xx. 5; xxiii. 24; Deut. v. 9; *נַעֲבֹדֶם* Deut. XIII. 3; *יִדַּע* ψ CXXXVIII. 6; *תִּאָּהֲבוּ* Pr. i. 22—prove 1. qutul; 2. qital; 3. qital.

IX. Notably forms like *יָקוּם* and *יָבִין* are virtually *yaquwum* a. *yabi-yin* (not *yaqwum* a. *yabyin*). Hence we find again 1. qutul; 2. qital. Similarly *יָבֵא* = *yabawa'* points to 3. qatal.

The result of our study may be summed up as follows. We find three types of the imperfect tense-stem:

1. qatul, or, with assimilation of vowels, qutul.
2. qatil, " " " " " qital.
3. qatal, " " dissimilation " " qital (qutal).

The relation of the perfect to the imperfect tense-stem may be represented as follows:

1. Perf. qatul. Imperf. qatul.
2. " qatil. " qatal.
3. " qatal. " qatil.

The symbolism of tense vocalization is thus rendered complete. Qatul for qatil belongs to a later development, when, as in Hebrew, verbs of the type יָבֵל assume the form of that of יָבֵן, and yaqtil becomes impracticable as it may be confounded with the corresponding form of the causative stem which is certainly of later age. יִקְטֵל and יִקְטִיל are other attempts at differentiation; still cf.

יַעֲלֶה "he goes up" and "he leads up."

NOTE.—I should throw out the suggestion that the other stems of the Semitic verb are not only *derived* from the simple stem, but are much posterior to it in time. It seems that the tripartite mechanism of the simple stem served for a long time to render the formation of new stems unnecessary. Cf. פָּרַע "to be idle," פָּרַע "to bring to an end;" הַיָּד יְהוָה תִּקְצֹר "Is the hand of Yahweh too short?" and זֹרַע עֲוֹלָה יִקְצֹר-אֹן "He who soweth wrong-doing, reapeth (= cuts short) trouble" (Num. XI. 23 a. Pr. XXII. 8). When the additional stems were formed, some of the old forms remained. Hence we find combinations like נָגַשׁ (N reflex.) a. נִגַּשׁ, נָפַטַר (Mishnic) a. נִפְטַר I Sam. XIX. 10, נָכַנַם a. יָכַנַם (both Mishnic, the latter in accordance with the traditional pronunciation, though a mistaken zeal leads purists to read יָכַנַם).

MUŠANNĪTU(M).

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Peiser in his *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*, pp. 305-6, discusses the term *mušannitum* (written *mu-ša-an-ni-tum* and *mu-ša-ni-tum*), which is of frequent occurrence in the legal literature of the Babylonians, without, however, reaching any satisfactory conclusion. He thinks that it may refer to some kind of construction for purposes of irrigation. Tallqvist leaves the word untranslated (*Die Sprache der Contracte Nubunaid's*, p. 139).

There is a Talmudical term מְשֻׁנִּיתָא, with which I believe the Babylonian word is identical.* The word מְשֻׁנִּיתָא occurs in the Talmud in the sense of (a) jaw, (b) cliff, grotto, and thirdly, embankment. In two passages it is expressly applied to a field. *Baba Meši'â*, Fol. 108b, we read "אֶפְסִיק מ'" a precipitous mound separated the fields" and again *ibid.*, 109a, "אֶהְרַר לִיה מ'" "he surrounded the fields with an embankment" for which a variant has גִּרְרָה "he fenced it in."

It is in the sense of "embankment" in which *mušannitum* appears to be used in the Babylonian legal tablets, the reference being to the protection which the physical conditions of the Euphrates valley rendered necessary in order to protect fields and property from being damaged by the rise of the numerous streams in the rainy season. The artificial canals would of course be similarly affected by this season and embankment works would thus be rendered necessary in all sections of the valley even where canals existed, the waters of which might be directed into the fields during the dry season. The solidity of these embankments was further assured by the use of wooden or iron beams employed in their construction and acting as a support to the earth heaps. With this brief explanation, we may pass to an examination of some of the passages in which the term occurs.

* See the passages in Levy's Talmudical Dictionary where, however, the various meanings of the word are not properly distinguished. Through the courtesy of my father, I am enabled to quote from his manuscript the article on the word as it will appear in Part IX. of his Talmudic Dictionary. מְשֻׁנִּיתָא f. (denom. מְשֻׁנָּה tooth) (1) jaw, *Erub.* 100^a *** (2) cliff, bluff, grotto, *Gen. R. s.* 10^a דִּימָא כ' דִּימָא כ' the bluffs at Caesarea, *Tan.* 23^a *Midr. Till. to Ps. cxvii.* לִיה אֶהְרַר a grotto formed around him; *B. Meši'â* 108^a אֶפְסִיק מ' a precipitous mound separated the fields; *ib.* 109^a אֶהְרַר לִיה מ' he surrounded the fields; (*MS. Hamburg* גִּרְרָה fenced it in) with an embankment.

Tablet No. 910 of Strassmaier's *Nabunaid* texts is a receipt for dates delivered in part as an annual assessment, and in part *ana dullu ša mušanitum ša nâr Sumanti*, i. e. "for the embankment work at the Sumanti canal."

Nabunaid No. 770 gives a list of workmen engaged *ša dullu ina eli mušanitum ša Gilušu* "for the work in connection with the embankment at Gilušu."

Further operations at this same place are referred to in Nbd., No. 784, which is a receipt for a variety of iron material and instruments required: *ana eli mušanitum ša NIH Gilušu*, "for the embankment of NIH Gilušu,"* and again in Nbd. 1080 where 80 workmen engaged in the enterprise—which must have been one of considerable magnitude—are enumerated in groups as they were furnished by the contractors.

Nbd. No. 1002 testifies to the payment in silver *ana dullu ša mušanitum ša Hallab* for the embankment work at Hallab.

In a text from the days of Darius published by Peiser, *Babyl. Verträge*, No. 143, there is a reference to three beams that are to be delivered *ina muḫḫi mušanitum ša Kar-ri Taš-me-tum* "in connection with the embankment work at Karri-Tašmetum." From this passage as well as from Nbd. No. 784, it appears that the term *dullu* might be omitted without affecting the force of the phrase.

Nbd. No. 6 (as No. 910) is a receipt for 20 kur of dates, full measure (?) (*i-mit-tum*), joint ownership in a house *u e^ontum ša eli mušanitum* "and choice dates† for embankment" where *dullu* (= work) is again to be supplied.

Lastly, in Strassmaier's tablets of the reign of Cyrus, No. 180, ll. 10 and 12, in an assessment list of dates due to the Ebarra temple of Babylon, there are included two payments of this kind, one of 17 kur, another of 26 kur made in lieu of the sum of one mana and one mana plus 11 šekels respectively, charged *ana dullu ša mušanitum*, "for embankment work." From this we may be permitted to conclude that the Babylonian temples were not only, as we know from various sources, great business corporations (Peiser, *Babyl. Vertr.*, pp. xvii-xxix) that farmed out lands for cultivation, but that they also accepted contracts for land improvements. The passages above given will suffice to show that the meaning proposed for *mušanitum* answers the requirements and accords with the context involved.

A word remains to be said as to the form of the Talmudical and of the Babylonian term. The former מִשְׁוִיטָה is a form like מִפְּשׁוּטִיתָה ("stretch-

* Seed of NIH(?) Giluša is spoken of Nbd. No. 690,13, and the same place with the determinative for city is found Nbd. No. 308,37.

† I connect *edutum* with Talmudic עִדִּית, which signifies "choice," but reserve the proof for another occasion.

ing out,") mašnunītha, becoming by contraction m'šunnītha; and so far as the ordinary meanings of the word are concerned ("jaw, cliff, grotto, etc.,") it may be regarded as a home production. In its technical sense, however, as applied to the embankment along a canal as a protection to fields and property, what more natural than that the term should, like so many other technical terms pertaining to architecture, commerce and the industrial arts, have been borrowed? With the Babylonian mušannitu before us, there seems hardly any reasonable doubt that such was the case. Upon this supposition, the slight variation between the Babylonian and the Talmudical form can readily be accounted for. The transposition of the Waw from behind the first letter to a position after the second letter—i. e. משוניתא instead of מושניתא—is the natural consequence of the attraction exercised by the already existing משוניתא. It is altogether likely that with more manuscripts at our disposal, a variant would be encountered with the Waw after the Mem or with the omission of the Waw altogether. The differentiation here proposed between משוניתא and מושניתא does not involve any difference in the underlying stem. For the latter as for the former, and also therefore for the Babylonian mušannitum, the stem is שִׁנָּה. Though the writing with one *t* is unusual, while at the same time far from unparalleled,* mušannitum may very well be the feminine participle of the Pēl (II. 1) mušanninatum = mušannintum = mušanittum = mušanītu(m). Tallqvist, it may be noted, also suggests the long quality of the vowel *i* in the word. The spelling with one *n* (Nbd. Nos. 910, 1002, 6) instead of two is of course a very common variant. The use of the word in the sense of embankment is deduced without difficulty from the fundamental notion of "to be pointed" attaching to שִׁנָּה. In Biblical usage already, שֵׁן is the "point of the rock" as well as "tooth." The embankment forming a kind of wall and supplied perhaps with turrets, as the ordinary wall of fortification was, could appropriately be designated as a "pointed" or a "turreted" object.

* Cf. ummātu = ummantu; ištātu = ištantu (cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, § 49, b) with only one *t* despite the assimilated *n*, but lengthening of vowel instead of reduplication.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

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I.

This is the first of a Series of Notes—lexicographical and textual—to be published in *HEBRAICA*. They are based on Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* = *HWB.*, and my *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K. Collection of the British Museum* = *LK.*

u 2, Arnolt, *DAL.* p. 1 *not, nicht*, but cf. K. 979, *LK.* 47, obv. 7-11:7 ina ši-a-ri ša ba-a-di⁸ ri*-in-ku ina alu Tar-bi-ši⁹ immeru niķê¹⁰ ša šarri in-ni-pa-ša¹¹ a-na-ku-u al-lak, übermorgen there will be a rinku(=rimku, רִמְקָה) libation (pour-offering) in the city of Tarbisi and royal sacrifices will be offered. Shall I go? Cf. also K. 522, *LK.* 31, 9 sqq. For ba-a-di, cf. K. 561, *LK.* 101, obv. 11: āmu VI^{kam} a-na ba-a-di and K. 519, *LK.* 108, rev. 5: ina ti-ma-li ki-i ba-di= بعد

A. BA. Delitzsch, *HWB.* p. 4, comments as follows: "A. BA. mit oder ohne Determ. amêl, s. u. dupšarru." He does not say anything about this writing in the place mentioned. Note the reading, amêlu AB. BA. MEŠ, K. 1139, obv. 2 and K. 620, *LK.* 91, obv. 13.

Agappu. Cf. also šu-pur a-gap-pi, K. 573, *LK.* 180, obv. 5.

The plural of egirtu, which Arnolt, *DAL.* p. 16, takes from an oral communication with me, and for which he does not give a reference, is found in K. 619, *LK.* 174, rev. 12 = e-gir-a-te-šu-nu. This form is to be inserted in Delitzsch, *HWB.* p. 18.

Neither Delitzsch nor Arnolt gives a satisfactory treatment of adanniš. The former places it under a root אֲנִי. The latter makes it parallel with danniš—after Bezold, and remarks "perhaps=a(na)danniš(u)" Cf., however, my note in *HEBRAICA*, X. p. 107:† "In *Oriental Diplomacy*, Bezold has placed both danniš and adanniš under the root danānu, without further comment. I am inclined to think that he is correct in this view, and would add the following: danniš is used interchangeably with adanniš in 1, 6; 2, 6; 3, 7, etc. Ana danniš = andanniš = addanniš

*Šar is a typographical mistake. My copy of the original has ri.

† This was published before the appearance of Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary*, etc.

(K. 519, 3, 7, *LK.* 108; K. 532, 3, 7, *LK.* 109, etc.) = adanniš (the form in common use) = adaniš (K. 485, rev. 8, *LK.* 112)."

No derivation is given for aḥamiš. Under a-ḥa-iš = aḥamiš, such forms as a-ḥa-a-a-iš, K. 63^b, rev. 8, 18, *LK.* 168, should be cited. In both of these places, a-ḥa-a-a-iš is preceded by the sign for ištu, ultu. Cf. also such forms as a-ḥi-ia-ši, Rm 2, 1, rev. 14 and a-ḥa-ia-ši, Rm 2, 464, obv. 11.*

Both Delitzsch and Arnolt have accepted my textual reading at the end of line 46, col. III. of Cyl. A. Esarhaddon, reading aḥ-ta-bi-šu a-ḥu-lap instead of Abel-Winkler's impossible a-ḥu-ta. Arnolt quotes this passage under aḥulāp(i), *DAL.* p. 30 and again under aḥūtu, p. 31. Only one of these readings can be correct. Arnolt has accepted aḥulap in *HEBRAICA*, and hence his double treatment of the text of this passage in *DAL.* 30, 31 must be put down to the careless editing of his notes.

* aḥāru receives imperfect treatment from both Delitzsch and Arnolt. Delitzsch says: "II. 1 * * * astronomischer, bes. auf Mond und Venusstern bezüglicher term. technicus." Arnolt remarks: " * * * uḥḥuru = ἐκλείπειν, of moon and stars." Both cite few examples. This verb is often used without a technical astronomical meaning. Cf. Rm 2, 2, obv. 15; K. 625, 9 *LK.* 131 (uḥ-ḥa-ru-u-ni); K. 63^b, obv. 11, rev. 8 and 11 (uḥ-ḥu-ur), *LK.* 168; K. 1396, 12, *LK.* 185 (li-iḥ-ḥu-ra), etc., etc.

Under * 𐎶𐎵. eṭēru, II., Delitzsch notices the use of eṭēru with ina. Cf. also K. 595, *LK.* 6, obv. 24, sqq., where we have the form lu-u-ṭe-ru with ana: ilāni rabūti kalīšunu ša šamē iršitīm ana šarri bēlija adu zērišu šumšu ummānātišu lu-u-ṭe-ru ina ki-ni-šu-nu lu-še-ri-bu = may the great gods—all of them—of heaven and earth give protection to the king, my lord, together with his seed, his name, his armies: into their nest (protection) may they cause [him] to enter. There is another interesting passage in this letter. The verbal form from which we derive the forms paršumu, puršumu, etc., etc. which are of such frequent occurrence in the Letter literature—both with and without a determinative—has, so far as I know, not been found. But, cf. rev. 3, sqq.: ilāni rabūti ša šamē iršitīm ana balāṭ napšāti ša šarri bēlija nu-ša-al-laṭ šarru bēli ana mār mārāni lu-par-ši-im (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵) = to the great gods of heaven and earth for the life of the king, our lord, we pray. May the king live long enough to have grandchildren (lit.: to grandchildren grow old).

To the citations under 𐎶𐎵: add a-a-u-ti alānišu, K. 63^b, obv. 8, *LK.* 168.

* Cf. my article on *The Letters of the Rm 2 Collection in the British Museum in Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, VIII. pp. 341, sqq.

† Cf. K. 1024, rev. 6-8, *LK.* 28: ana-ku ūme māšu ina muḥḥi napšāti ša bēlija u-ṣal-la.

For the forms illuku, il-lu-ku il-la-ku-ni, K. 574, obv. 13, *LK.* 173, cf. Craig in *HEBRAICA*, X. p. 110. The I.3 form occurs in an interesting passage in K. 185, rev. 6-9, *LK.* 74: a-me-lu šú III. šanâti ina ku-u-ri u ni-is-sa-te it-ta-na-al-la-ak. Cf. also i-li-kan-a-ni, Rm 2, 1 obv. 21 and i-ta-lak, Rm 2, 1, obv. 13.

𐤏𐤋, tallultu. Delitzsch cites the single well-known passage, V.R. 6, 25. Cf. also K. 527, obv. 13sq., *LK.* 32: ina elîmêru sisi dan-ni ša tal-lul-tu ša^{ma}tu Kûsi rišûni ana e-rab ali ana^{lu} Sabbanat, etc.

The plural of elippu, ship = elippâni occurs in K. 609, rev. 8, *LK.* 126, written MA. MES + ni. The connection is uncertain, since the last three lines of this tablet are vitrified.

Under *𐤌𐤍, add the following forms, found in the badly broken tablet, K. 591, *LK.* 22: obv. 7, i-tam-me-ru; rev. 9, lit-me-ru, rev. 12, i-tam-me-ir. The last line of the reverse also contains a form of this verb. The first sign is broken off, but it can easily be restored.

The Assyrian Letters furnish us with a large number of interesting plural forms. A new plural of imêru, ass (usual plur. imêrê) is found in the name of a city in Rm 2, 1, rev. 13: ina^{lu} Dûr-imêr^{pl.} + te = Dûr-imêrâ(ê)te. Cf. also the new plural of biṭhallu, noticed by Craig in *HEBRAICA*, X. p. 109,—in K. 469, rev. edge 22, *LK.* 138: amêlu ša biṭ-hal-la-ti-šu-nu ina pâniia i-za-zu. Cf. Delitzsch, *BAS.* I. p. 211. In K. 631, obv. 5, *LK.* 136, we have: ardâni ša šarri bêliia^{amêlu} ḥaza-^{pl.} + phonetic complement ni. Cf. also egirâte and elippâni above and išparâte below. In this connection, I would say that Arnolt's reading ûmûti, as the second plural of ûmu, day, is incorrect, and that the only passage given in support of this reading is incorrectly cited. Further notice of the plurals of ûmu will be taken in a review of Arnolt's Dictionary.

A good example of the fem. plur. of unûtu is found in a short inscription of Ašurbanipal published by S. Arthur Strong in the *JRAS.* 1891, p. 469: * u-na-a-te ḥurâši kaspi sipirri parzilli iṣê u abnê êpuš. The form a-nu-ut is to be added to those given by Delitzsch. Cf. K. 1101 + K. 1221, rev. 5sq., *LK.* 152: * * * XX. ma-na kaspi ša a-nu-ut biṭ na-mu-ra-a-te ša šarri ša ummi šarri * * *

Along with annušim, we have the form a-nu-šim; cf. Rm 2, 1, rev. 30. I do not find any mention by Delitzsch of the form an-nu-ri which is of frequent occurrence in the Letters. It must have the same meaning as annušim, and I am of the opinion that the sign ri is to be given the value šim in this word.

* Arnolt, *DAL.*, p. 73, has cited this passage from an oral communication with me.

An interesting word not noticed by Delitzsch is found in K. 903, rev. 3, *LK.* 124, viz.: ana bīt i-si-te-ia. The last line of the obverse (9) is to be restored as i-si-te.

Issi, isi, Delitzsch places under 𐎶𐎶𐎶 with the remark: "gleichbedeutend, nach Haupt auch etymologisch eins mit itti mit." Hilprecht in his *Assyriaca*, which has just appeared, p. 47, argues with great force for the root 𐎶𐎶𐎶.* Cf. the following forms not noticed by Delitzsch: is-si-e-šu, Rm. 2, 468, rev. 8; i-si-e-šu, K. 596, obv. 22, *LK.* 190; is-si-e-a, K. 553, rev. 14, *LK.* 153 and K. 653, obv. 14, *LK.* 154; i-si-e-a, K. 63^b, rev. 16, *LK.* 168 and K. 596, obv. 17, *LK.* 190.

Under 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Delitzsch accepts my restoration and reading of Esarhaddon, Cyl. A., VI. 13, viz.: ina šipir ḫarrakûte e-si-ḫaki-rib-ša. Cf. *AEI.*, p. 16. Arnolt's notes on this passage in *HEBRAICA* are, to say the least, of no value.

There are some interesting forms of 𐎶𐎶𐎶 in the Letters. Cf. K. 515, *LK.* 89: obv. 11-13, u elippu ša^aamēlu piḫāti ša^alu Arrapḫa ina libbia^{lu} U-pi-a ne-bu-ru tu-pa-aš; rev. 1-5, * * * elippu [ša]amēlu piḫāti ša^alu Arrap[ḫa] lu-u ta-li-ik ina^{lu} * * ni-bu-ru lu-tu-piḫ-iš; rev. 10-14, amēlu šabē ša piḫāti ša^alu* ina^{lu}* * ni-bu-ru u-pu-šu. Cf. also tu-up-pa-aš, K. 619, obv. 15, *LK.* 174, and lu-pi-iš, K. 596, obv. 26, *LK.* 190. The form nīpišu occurs frequently.

Under ešadu (𐎶𐎶𐎶), cf. K. 1057, obv. 6, *LK.* 93: ūmu XI.kan e-ša-du inamātu Aššur. The rest of this text is badly broken. In a very difficult and broken letter of Arad-Nanā, we have the form iṣ-ša-di. Cf. K. 576, *LK.* 110, obv. 8: ina elī iṣ-sa-di ša šarri bēli [iṣpuran]ni mât (the tablet is broken here), and rev. 12-13: ba-si iṣ-ša-di i-ḫa-li-ku. At present, I do not know whether this iṣšadi is to be connected with 𐎶𐎶𐎶, or not.

Under erēbu, add the form ir-rab, K. 629, obv. 9, *LK.* 65.

Under urāsu, cf. the interesting form amēlu u-ra-su-tu in K. 636, *LK.* 209. This letter reads as follows: ¹a-na šarri bēli-ia ²ardi-ka Nabû-šum-še-ši ³apil Nabû-rêš-i-ši ⁴lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri bēli-ia ⁵Ašur Istar a-na šarri ⁶bēli-ia lik-ru-bu ⁷amēlu iṣparu pī. ša e-kur ⁸iš-bi-šu-nu la iḫ-šur-u-ni rev. 1 amēlu u-ra-su-tu ²e-pu-uš. The feminine of iṣparu (uṣparu) is not given by Delitzsch.

* Gegen issi = itti speziell spricht der Umstand, dass das Wort sowohl bei Asurnasirpal als in IV. R. 2 61 in denselben Texten mit itti vorkommt, das auch in der Briefliteratur, wo es sich am häufigsten findet, beide neben einander gebraucht werden. * * * Die einfachste Erklärung bleibt jedenfalls, dass issi genau so von 𐎶𐎶𐎶 gebildet ist, wie itti von 𐎶𐎶𐎶. Bedeutet ittišu demgemäß ursprünglich "seine Seite," i. e., "an seiner Seite, mit ihm," so bedeutet issišu zunächst "sein Helfer, sein Beistand," i. e., ebenfalls "mit ihm."

† My text reads šī, but I am inclined to think that this character is pī.

The plural form is found in a letter of Sennacherib, K. 125, *LK.* 196, edge 24: f. UŠ-BAR-pl-te.

To the forms under שׁוּרָא, add ni-ra-aš found in K. 609, obv. 10 sqq., *LK.* 126: [a]-na-ku an-na-ka ina^{alu} Kar-šarukin libnāti am-mar arbu NIR iš-šu-u-ni bitannu a-ra-ši-pi u zêrup^l ni-ra-aš.

Ašlu is found in K. 527, rev. 10, *LK.* 32; ina elī ašli. The sign following is broken.

Cf. the peculiar I. 2 forms of etêku, viz.: i-ta-ta-ka, Rm 2, 4, rev. 14 and i-ta-at-ku, K. 469, obv. 11, *LK.* 138.

A word not noticed by Delitzsch, and of frequent occurrence in the Letters, is the conjunction ba-si, ba-a-si. Cf. for ba-si, K. 1197, rev. 5, *LK.* 15; K. 494, obv. 9, *LK.* 19; K. 576, rev. 12, *LK.* 110 = ba-si iš-ša-di i-ḥa-li-ku; K. 596, obv. 7, *LK.* 190. For ba-a-si, cf. K. 1168, obv. 10, *LK.* 49.

Delitzsch's treatment of bašlu is unsatisfactory. The meaning "gekocht" does not suit the context of K. 1101 + K. 1221, *LK.* 152, rev. 3, sqq.

The most important text for the study of galâbu is a letter from Akkullanu, K. 122, *LK.* 43. Cf. the form gal-lu-bu, rev. 4 and 28; and ug-da-lib-šu, rev. 7. In rev. 17, we have pi-lu-ub. At present, I am inclined to regard the pi as an incorrect reading for gal. It will be necessary again to consult the original of this difficult text.

For גִּירָא and גִּירָא, cf. the broken letter, K. 554, *LK.* 100, rev. 14: i-su-ri gi-iš-ru u-u-ga-mar šarru bêli-ka gi-iš-ru. Cf. also the form ug-da-me-ir, K. 690, rev. 4, *LK.* 201.

Another word not noticed by Delitzsch is the catchword in a badly rubbed letter of Balasî, K. 555, *LK.* 76. Cf. obv. 7: ina elī gi-sa-ru-u ša šarri bêli iš[puran]ni. These lines are very badly rubbed, but rev. 4, gi-sa-ru-u damku, makes this reading absolutely certain.

I must take exception to Delitzsch's treatment of the text of Esarhaddon, Cyl. B. I. 9. III. R. 15 reads gir-ri-i-ka. Delitzsch, *ALS.*³ p. 117, reads ga with *sic*! In *HWB.* he remarks: "ga las richtig schon Layard." The reading gir, though unexpected, must be accepted. Cf. my *AEI.*, p. 32: "According to my reading (so Pinches) gir-ri-i-ka stands on the orig." Cf. also Haupt, *BAS.* I. p. 167: "Ich habe die Stelle zusammen mit Pinches und Dr. Harper genau untersucht und mich dabei überzeugt, dass das Zeichen vor -ri-ka in der That nicht ga, sonder gir ist." There are two or three other textual mistakes in Delitzsch's edition of Col. I. of this inscription. Line 15 is to be read: kima išşuri si-si-in-ni, not si-er-in-ni. Cf. Haupt again, *BAS.* I. p. 167: "Auch mit seinem von mir (p. 19) von vornherein als das Wahrscheinlichste bezeichneten si-si-in-ni ist Harper im Rechte. Es steht wirklich so da, nicht si-er-in-ni wie Delitzsch bietet."

Under 𒌷𒌷, Delitzsch should have noticed such forms as the following, which are of frequent occurrence in the Letter literature: ad-du-bu-ub, K. 602, rev. 16, *LK.* 23; K. 174, obv. 6-8, *LK.* 53 = ina elî ša šarri bēli iḳ-ban-ni mâ itti Bašî dubbu ad-du-bu-ub; K. 617, obv. 13, *LK.* 208 = i-si-šu-nu ad-du-bu-ub lib-bi u-sa-aš-kin-šu-nu; K. 625, rev. 8, *LK.* 131 = i-du-bu-bu; K. 569, rev. 9, *LK.* 78 = ni-id-du-bu-ub; K. 504, obv. 10-12, *LK.* 157 = [ina pa]-an šarri bēlija li-ru-bu šarru bēli i-si-šu-nu lid-bu-bu; etc.

For i-du-lu, cf. K. 619, obv. 23, *LK.* 174 and especially the short letter of Kabbu-ana-Ašur, K. 491, obv. 7, *LK.* 122. The letter reads as follows: a-na šarri bēlija ²ardika Kabbu-ana-Ašur, ³tibnu (pl.) (written ŠE. IN. NU. MEŠ) gab-bu ⁴ina mâtiya a-na¹⁰ Dûr-Šaru-kînna ⁵ša ina (here a break in the tablet) an-nu-šim ⁶amēlu mušar-kisâni ⁷i-da-tu-u-a i-du-lu ⁸tibnu (pl.) a-na II. ṣabê ⁹la-aš-šu u-ma-a ¹⁰mi-nu ša šarru bēli ¹¹i-ka-bu-u-ni. Reverse not inscribed.

Under 𒌷𒌷, cf. also K. 63^b, rev. 26, *LK.* 168: la il-lak lu la i-dal-laḫ.

𒌷𒌷. Cf. K. 620, obv. 7 sqq., *LK.* 91: dam-ka-at a-dan-nis dul-la-šu-nu i-ba-ši ša dam-mu-ḳi e-pu-uš u-da-mu-ḳu. Cf. also the letter, K. 1396, *LK.* 185, from Nabû-bêl-šu-nu to Ašur-mu-dam-me-iḳ.

NOTES.

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1. ON THE SEMITIC ISHTAR CULT.

In an article on "*Ashtoreth and Her Influence in the Old Testament*," published in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in 1891, I remarked that a deity, identical in name or in character or in both with Ashtoreth, is found among all the Semitic nations except the Ethiopians, and that our lack of knowledge of such a deity among them may be due solely to the paucity of non-Christian Ethiopic literary remains.* Since then I have published in *HEBRAICA*, Vols. IX. and X., some account of the Semitic Ishtar cult in all the Semitic lands except Abyssinia, but was until now unable to find any trace of it among the Ethiopians. At last, however, a deity bearing this name has come to light in this part of the Semitic area, so that we are assured that in some form this cult was coextensive with the Semitic peoples.

The evidence for this comes from Professor D. H. Müller's *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, Wien. 1894, which forms Heft III. of Vol. XLIII. of *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historisch Classe*. The inscriptions published in this work are edited from impressions made by J. Theodore Bent, Esq.

Tafel II. of Müller's work gives a fac-simile of an inscription of Ezana, son of Ela-Amida, king of Aksum, which is on p. 35 ff. edited, translated and accompanied with introduction and notes. The inscription is in the Geez script, and dates, as Professor Müller shows, from the early part of the fifth century A. D. The Sabaeen and Greek alphabets had been used in Abyssinia until the last half of the fourth century, as bilingual inscriptions, found in these tongues and published by Müller in this same work, prove. A reform in the script and the written language, by which the Geez writing was introduced, must, as Professor Müller points out, have occurred in the last years of Ela-Amida or the early years of Ezana. Ela-Amida began to rule at the latest about 380 A. D., so that the reform of the script could not have been accomplished before 400 A. D., and our inscription was probably written at no great distance in time afterwards.

Ezana, the writer, calls himself king of Aksum, and of several other places, including in the list Raidan and Saba, indicating that at this time the mother

* Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. X., p. 77.

country of Sabaea, or Southern Arabia, was subject to the Ethiopians. The inscription records a victory of Ezana over the people of Adan, and after describing the onslaught, the number of slain and the prisoners, it proceeds l. 22, ff.: "And he turned back unharmed with the people of Adan and erected a throne here in Sada and committed him to the protection of Astar, Barras and Medr." The inscription then closes with an imprecation against the king's enemies somewhat in the strain of those at the end of the annals of the Assyrian kings.

This passage shows us that Christianity had not yet wholly triumphed in Abyssinia, and that chief among the deities of the royal pantheon was a god identical in name with Athtar, Ishtar and Astarte. It will be observed that the Ethiopic form of the name, Astar, resembles the Moabitic form Ashtar, which appears on the Moabite stone in the compound name Ashtar-Chemosh.

This name attests the presence of the Ishtar Cult in Abyssinia. As Astar is named first, we may infer that he was the leading deity of the pantheon. Athtar of South Arabia was, it will be remembered, a masculine deity. There is no definite hint in Ezana's inscription which reveals with certainty the gender of this god in Abyssinia. A close connection had, however, long existed between Abyssinia and South Arabia, as the use of the Sabaeen alphabet in the earlier Abyssinian inscriptions shows, and at the time of our inscription that connection was maintained by the extension of the dominion of the king of Aksum over the territories of Raidan and Saba. Indeed, it is altogether likely that the African Semites were emigrants from Sabaea. These facts, together with the fact that Astar is named first among the gods, would lead us to infer that Astar was, like Athtar, a masculine deity. We cannot, however, be certain of this until more evidence appears.

Since *The Semitic Ishtar Cult* which appeared in *HEBRAICA* was written, Fasciculus II., Pars. IV., Tom. I., of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i. e., of the Sabaeen portion of the *Corpus*, has appeared, as has Hommel's *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie*, and Mordtman's *Himjarische Inschriften und Alterthümer*. This last work is Heft VII. of the Berlin Museum's *Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*. These works bring considerable new material within the reach of the American student, and add a few facts to his knowledge of the Athtar cult in South Arabia.

No. 102 of the *Corpus* is an inscription from a tablet which contained on its upper right hand corner the head of a bull. The inscription consecrated the tablet to Athtar, אֲתַר, thus adding to our evidence that the bull or ox was sacred to this god. Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. X., p. 58.

These added publications make still more clear the fact that there were in Southern Arabia a multiplicity of Athtars. An inscription reproduced from Halévy by Hommel on p. 78 of his *Chrestomathie*, distinguishes three Athtars,—Athtar of Kabas, Athtar of Yaharik, and Athtar of Yahar. So also in Mordt-

man's *Himjarische Inschriften* we have three Athtars distinguished,—Athtar of Mount Thanin (No. 862), Athtar of Banâ (No. 886), and Athtar of Kabid, the building (No. 874). Each place evidently had its Athtar as in ancient Palestine and Syria each place had its Baal.

Professor Hommel thinks the epithet שֶׁרֶקֶן, "the rising," is an identification of Athtar with the morning star. This has in its favor the fact that Al-Uzza, the goddess of Mecca, who has been shown to be a form of Athtar, was identified with the morning star.* This is, I think, more probable than the identification with the rising sun, which I formerly favored.†

The inscription, No. 862, of Mordtman's *Himjarische Inschriften* contains a passage in which Athtar is apparently called אֲבִי עֲתָר, or "father Athtar." Mordtmann is not absolutely sure of the reading. It might, he says, be אֵל עֲתָר, but he thinks אֲבִי the more probable. If this be correct, then Athtar was regarded as a father-god, and we have a trace in his character of the widespread conception of parentage and productivity, which was all but universally connected with the Ishtars and Astartes.

In treating of this, Müller calls attention to an inscription published by Derenbourg in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8 Série, Vol. II., p. 255. This inscription is of great interest as it confirms the theory of the late Professor W. R. Smith, which I followed in my *Ishtar Cult*, that Athtar was originally a mother goddess, and then developed into a masculine deity.‡ Derenbourg's inscription, translated, reads as follows:—

1. "Yaşbaḥ of Riyam son of Mauḳiṣ and Baus and his wife Karibat, possessor of
2. of the tribe of Sirwah, a man of the king. They have consecrated to their lady Umm'athtar for
3. four sons, four images of pure gold because she blessed
4. them (viz. : Umm'athtar) with the boys and their daughters. And they lived—all these chil-
5. dren—and the spirits of both of them have been calmed by these children. May Umm-
6. 'athtar continue to bless his servants Yaşbaḥ and Karibat with well-formed children and to favor them themselves
7. and to favor their children. May Umm'athtar be gracious
8. and grant complete safety to the sons of Yaşbaḥ, Kharif, Magda'al, Ra-
9. babat and 'Am'atik, the descendants of Mauḳiṣ and to their harvests and good fruits in
10. the land Nakhal Khurif, and in the pastures of their camels. To Umm'athtar.

* Cf. HEBRAICA, Vol. X., p. 64, W. R. Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Ancient Arabia*, p. 197, and Wellhausen's *Reise Arabische Heidenthums*, p. 37. † Cf. HEBRAICA, Vol. X., pp. 56, 57 and 72.

‡ This inscription escaped my notice when I wrote the "Ishtar Cult."

This inscription not only represents Athtar as a goddess, but as a mother goddess, the giver of offspring, just the character in which Ishtar and Astarte usually appear. More than this, we catch in this inscription which comes from the very heart of the South Arabic territory the exact transition state between the mother goddess, so widely known elsewhere, and the masculine deity which otherwise appears in South Arabia. The deity is addressed by the compound name **אמע־תַּתַּר**, (which we may resolve into its component parts and translate "mother Athtar,") and is moreover called **מֶרַתַּת**, "the lady," and yet in the phrase **עֲבָדֶיהוּ**, "his servants," the deity is referred to as a male. The theory that a male deity was here developed out of a female is not, therefore, a mere theory; this inscription demonstrates it by revealing the transition in progress.

When the development was complete the idea of parentage which was inherent in the mother-goddess was still associated with this deity, and hence the epithet **אֲבֵע־תַּתַּר**, which Mordtmann has noted in the inscription above mentioned.

The fact that Athtar was in South Arabia at one time a goddess, renders the theory advanced by W. R. Smith in his *Kinship*, and followed by me in the *Ishtar Cult*, that Al-Uzza is but an Athtar or Astarte, much more certain, as it becomes clear beyond a doubt that Athtar was once a goddess in Arabia.

II. ON THE GOD MUT.

In a paper published during the early part of 1894 in the *Oriental Studies* of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia on *Native Israelitish Deities*, it was proven, as I venture to think, that a god Maut, or Mut, was known in ancient Israel and Phœnicia, and that at least two proper names have been preserved in the Old Testament of which this divine name is a component part.

When that paper was published it seemed impossible to give any satisfactory account of the origin or the nature of such a deity; and in the absence of any other clue it was conjectured from the Hebrew pointing of the names referred to, that it might be but a personification of death. After it was too late even to add a foot-note to the paper in question, Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* came to hand, on p. 294 of which an account is given of the discovery of some traces of the worship of the Egyptian mother-goddess Mut, near Gaza, in 1892. The natives then discovered in this locality several objects, among which were alabaster vases bearing the names of Amenophis III. and Teie, and another object bearing an inscription showing that it belonged to a temple of the goddess Mut, and that this temple had been erected by Amenophis II., grandfather of Amenophis III. This discovery indicates that near Gaza there was in the time of the eighteenth dynasty a shrine of the great Egyptian mother goddess, and suggests a different explanation of the goddess Mut in Palestine, viz., that the slight traces of the worship of Maut or Mut there

and in Phœnicia may be but survivals of the worship of the Egyptian goddess on Syrian soil from the early time when she became naturalized there under the influence of the Egyptian domination. The El-Amarna tablets show that at that time Philistia, Phœnicia and Palestine were practically one. The whole country was in a state of vassalage to Egypt, but the inhabitants were in a state of flux, and a cult planted at Gaza might easily spread to other parts of Syria.

III. WAS ILU EVER A DISTINCT DEITY IN BABYLONIA?

George Rawlinson in his *Five Great Monarchies* (I. 112sq.) and *The Religions of the Ancient World* (pp. 37, 38) held that there was at the head of the Babylonian pantheon a deity Il, or Ra. His sources of information were, however, not trustworthy. He relied on imperfect translations in the *Records of the Past*, on Greek sources of a late date, and on Egyptian analogies which were really quite remote. Schrader in his *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (ed. 2, p. 11) indicates that he holds the same view, or did hold it in 1883. On the other hand, Tiele in his *Histoire Comparée des Anciennes Religions* (pp. 181, 182) denies the existence of such a deity; Professor Lyon of Harvard in a paper in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May 1883, makes a clear and forcible argument against it, and more recent works omit, I believe, all mention of such a deity.

The present note is written for the purpose of calling attention to a possible explanation of Ilu as an element of proper names, different from that adopted by Professor Lyon. He says (*op. cit.*, p. clxvii.): "The result of an examination of proper names containing *ilu* would be to show that this word does not represent a particular deity, but simply 'god,' as we saw above in the case of Bab-ilu, 'Babylon.'" This is not saying that *ilu* would be the same god in each case. *Zikar-ilu*, for instance, 'Servant of *ilu*,' might mean servant of Aššûr, servant of Marduk, servant of Bêl, according to the preferences of the family in conferring the name."

Such an explanation is indeed possible, but is it the only one? In the tablets from the first Babylonian dynasty published by Meissner in his *Beiträge zum Altbabylonische Privatrecht*, 1893, there are several names compounded with *Ilu*. *Ilu-šu-ib-ni* (No. 4), *Buni-Ilu* (No. 12), *Gi-mil-Ili* (Nos. 14 and 59), *Šum-ma-Ili* (No. 20), *Ilu-ikiša* (No. 25), *Ilu-šu-nu-ti* (No. 30), *Ilu-šu-ba-ni* (No. 31), *Pur-Ili* (No. 35), *Ilu-emuḫi* (No. 38), *Nur-Ili* (No. 39), *Mutu-Ili* (No. 80), *Ilu-išmi-ḫani* (No. 97), *Apil-Ili* (No. 102), *Ilu-kaša* and *Ilu-matiša* (No. 105). In addition to these I have recently observed the following names on unpublished tablets belonging to the University of Pennsylvania: *Marduk*-nu-uh-libbi-Ili*, *Ipi-iš-Ili*,† and *Izizu-itti-Ili*.

* The tablet is partially defaced at this point, so that the reading is doubtful.

† Found also in Moldenke's *Cuneiform Texts*, No. 22.

In some of the names of this list *Ilu* is no doubt the generic term. Such is the case in *Ilu-šu-ib-ni* = 'His god created'; so also *Ilu-šu-nu-ti*, which is probably an abbreviation from a name originally longer. *Ilu-iḫiṣa* is, however exactly parallel to *Sin-iḫiṣa* (Meissner, No. 81), and *Bēl-iḫiṣa* (Moldenke, *op. cit.* No. 16), and while Lyon's explanation may possibly be the correct one, nevertheless a strong argument from analogy could be made to support the supposition that in this class of names *Ilu* was once as much a deity as *Sin* or *Bēl* was. *Iṣtar* was used both for "goddess" and for the name of a specific deity, and why should we not suppose that the development of this word was parallel to *Ilu*? We may, I think, take it for granted that in the evolution of ideas terms which afterwards were employed to designate genera were first the names of specific objects. The usage in the case of the word *Iṣtar* denotes an arrested development of this sort—a development arrested so early that *Iṣtar* is usually a specific deity, and only in rare cases the generic term. Do we not find here some ground for supposing that *Ilu*, the masculine term, is analogous—that it was once a specific deity, and that while it was such, names like *Ilu-e muḫi*, *Ilu-iḫiṣa*, *Nur-Ili*, and *Apil-Ili* were formed and became traditional? The argument from the analogies already mentioned is strengthened by the fact that among the Hebrews or Canaanites *ʾĒl* was in early times a distinct deity.*

All these analogies lead me to suspect that *Ilu* was once a specific deity and underwent a transformation like that, the beginning of which we can trace in *Iṣtar*, only that in the case of *Ilu* the change went so far that almost every vestige of the specific use of the term was lost.

In the names given in Meissner's *Beiträge* the determinative is not prefixed to *Ilu*. This tends to show that the term had become, in these names, conventional, and that the consciousness of the presence of a specific deity in them had passed away. I am led, nevertheless, from the cumulative parallels here presented, to suspect that among the very early Babylonians *Ilu* was a distinct deity and that other names had in the historical period displaced it, as *Athtar* was before the historical period displaced in North Arabia.†

* Cf. *Oriental Studies* of the Oriental Club of Phila. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1894, pp. 97, 98.

† Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. X., p. 66.

◆BOOK◆NOTICES◆

ERMAN'S EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR.*

This little book marks an era in the study of Egyptian. Small as it is, in it there is presented for the first time a statement of Egyptian grammar that can be called in any degree complete. To go further, it might even be said that here we have for the first time a grammar of Egyptian. This may seem strange to the reader who knows that Egyptian has been before the world, and has been studied for nearly a century, but yet the fact stands so, and those few books which could in any way dispute the claim of this to be the first grammar of Egyptian are by the same author and mark the stages of his gradual advance, and of the gradual advance with him of the scientific study of the language. In 1878 appeared Dr. Erman's *Pluralbildung*, in 1880 his *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, in 1889 his *Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, a masterly development of the grammatical phenomena of a text which was published a year later in an equally masterly edition.

In fact, the treatment of this one papyrus, with its photographic reproductions (only those who have had to do with such things know how much here depends on the care of the editor whether they are to be for ornament or to the purpose), its elaborate palæographic *Feststellung* of the text, its glossary and grammatical analysis with the special grammar mentioned above, would have sufficed to show that Egyptian had at last fallen into hands that were prepared to rescue it from the reproach of dilettantism which had so long clung to it. And now, in this grammar, we have the ripened fruits of Dr. Erman's studies, an elaborated and rounded scheme of Egyptian that, however incomplete it may still be, is miles in advance of anything attempted up till now. It may safely be said that there is not another man alive who could have written this book, and, probably, those who can wade through it without having their ideas upon Egyptian simply transformed, can be counted on the fingers. Outside of Dr. Erman's Egyptological school at Berlin and the two or three English students who are working upon his lines in London, this book might be a revelation to the so-called Egyptologists, a class in which there is probably more amateurism, unscholarly habits and simple humbug than in any other branch of orientalism—and that is saying a good deal. It *might* be a revelation to such men, but the probability is that for them it will pass unheeded, and we shall continue for a few years to have texts published by editors who could not translate them to save their lives, and learned treatises upon the Exodus or upon Joseph in Egypt by men who take as their guides Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs* and Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*. In truth, it is hard to insist too much upon the difference between the two schools, that which Erman has been working some twenty years to found, and that which is represented by almost all the older Egyptologists. On the one

* EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR, with Table of Signs, Bibliography, Exercises for Reading and Glossary by Adolf Erman. Translated by James Henry Breasted. *Williams & Norgate*, 1894.

hand, we have conjecture and the treatment of the results of conjecture as ascertained facts, raised to a science; on the other, a resolute declination to treat as fact what is not fact, and to go a step beyond what is firm and certain. On the one hand, again, an attempt to translate everything and anything though half the words are unknown and the construction a mystery, sometimes rising to the bold declaration that there is no such thing in Egyptian as construction, and that grammars are needless; and on the other, a recognition that where there is language there must be grammar, and that it is no disgrace to confess that a sentence or a whole document is unintelligible, that the disgrace rather lies in professing to translate what one does not understand.

From what has now been said, it will be evident that this book, though it is one of the *Porta linguarum orientalium*, yet stands upon a very different level from that occupied by the other volumes of the same series. They form more or less excellent introductions to the different oriental languages, containing nothing but the universally known and recognized elements, and their chief merit is that they embrace in a small bulk a grammar, chrestomathy and glossary, and a guide for further study in the sketch of literature. These advantages this book also has, and the beginner may start with it in the full confidence that he will find in it all that he needs for the first few months of study. But, besides that, this book is simply the most complete and accurate statement of Egyptian grammar that has yet been published, and there is probably not an Egyptologist alive who will not have to make it a desk-book for constant reference. Two prefaces, the one by the author, the other by the translator, and full tables of contents and abbreviations occupy pp. I.-XV. Then the Grammar begins. Introduction, Orthography and Phonetics pp. 1-28, Pronouns pp. 28-36, Nouns pp. 36-62, Verbs pp. 62-124, Particles pp. 124-138, the Sentence pp. 138-171. Then comes a most valuable table of signs with the latest determinations pp. 172-194, and Bibliography pp. 195-201. Then, on a separate pagination, the exercises for reading pp. 1*-41*, and a glossary, which excites the hope that the dictionary on which Dr. Erman is at work, may soon appear, pp. 42*-70*.

It is impossible to enter into all the points of interest which are raised by this little book, but it may well be asked how it happens that only now are we approaching a grammatical treatment of the language. The only answer is to refer to the tremendous difficulties involved, and these difficulties come under the two heads of the orthography and the history of the language. As to orthography, every one is familiar with the appearance of Egyptian hieroglyphics, but it is only recently that it has been thoroughly realized that these signs, with the exception of one or two doubtful endings, are exclusively consonantal and that the vowels are never indicated. In this respect Egyptian agrees with the other Semitic languages, only in it the non-writing of the vowels is much more rigorously carried out. Evidently that law of Semitic phonology which makes the consonants of primary and the vowels of very secondary importance, was here in full force.

Again, as to the history of the language, it should be remembered that the oldest monuments date back to, at least, 3000 B. C., and that it only became extinct with the last speakers of Coptic, two or three hundred years ago. It is in the services of the Coptic church, still read in this which may be called "modern" Egyptian, that we meet the last remains of the language of the builders of the Pyramids. This long history is divided into the following five periods:—I. Old

Egyptian, the language of the old Empire, found in its oldest form in the Pyramid texts, and continuing long as the language of the learned, though as unintelligible to the common people as are our Latin inscriptions. II. Middle Egyptian, the language of the people during the Middle Empire. III. Late Egyptian, the popular language during the New Empire. IV. Demotic, the popular language of the immediately pre-Christian centuries, written in a curious cursive development of the Hieratic character. V. Coptic, the language of the Christians in Egypt, written in Greek characters. It is difficult to overestimate the changes which a history of this length must have involved. Between Vergil and Dante there are only some thirteen centuries, and between Alfred the Great and Tennyson, not ten, but the ability to read the "*Æneid*" or the "*Idylls of the King*" does not by any means involve the ability to read the "*Divina Commedia*," or Alfred's translation of Boëtius. And when to that is added that only in Coptic, the last of the five developments, are the vowels indicated, it will be understood how almost hopeless is the attempt to gain any knowledge of the word structure of old Egyptian. Dr. Erman puts the matter thus in the *Vorrede* to his *Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, a text which appears to fall between the Middle and the New Empire:—"Wir stehen daher den vocallos geschriebenen Formen der alten Sprache fast hilflos gegenüber und können nur schwer oder gar nicht uns ein Urtheil darüber bilden, wie viel vokalisch geschiedene Formen sich hinter den äusserlich gleichen Consonantengruppen verbergen. Um sich unsere Lage zu veranschaulichen, denke man sich dass wir vom Syrischen nur einige alte unvokalisierte Texte besässen und dass wir nun die Formenlehre derselben mit alleiniger Hülfe des heutigen Neusyrischen enträthseln müssten, das, ganz ähnlich wie das Koptische von der alten reichen Flexion nichts gerettet hat als den Imperativ, zwei Participien und einen Infinitiv." But the difficulty of the case might have been stated even more strongly, for while in Syriac we have letters of prolongation that would go far to indicate the forms, these in Egyptian are totally lacking.

The comparison here made between Egyptian and Syriac suggests the question of their linguistic relationships, and this question is answered without doubt or hesitation by the first sentence of the Grammar. "The Egyptian language is related to the Semitic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, etc.), to the East African languages (Bischari, Galla, Somali, and others), and to the Berber languages of North Africa." Here we touch the second side of interest in this book. It is epoch making with regard to Egyptian, but it also marks the beginning of a new era in the study of comparative Semitic. Though Dr. Erman, apart from the above dogmatic statement, restrains himself in the most severe fashion from any dealing with these questions, it is principally due to him and his work that the place of Egyptian in the Semitic family can now be discussed without the risk of being regarded as a "crank" in the field of scholarship. Not many years ago that was the reputation that awaited the investigator—though in Egyptian where there were and are so many "cranks," that did not count for much—and it awaited him rightly, for our knowledge of Egyptian was not then upon such a basis of certainty, nor of such an extent as to facts, as to warrant any attempt at comparison with another language. But now, that is past, and though there is much that will have to be learned and unlearned, we have reached a position from which we can see how great is the part to be played by Egyptian in the study of the development of the Semitic group. That it is Semitic, no doubt now

remains and when Dr. Steindorff has completed his investigations into the sound-interchanges between Egyptian and Asiatic Semitic, we shall be able to compare the vocabularies of the two at length. But at the grammatical structure it is already possible to work, and it may be said without hesitation that the next great step in the study of comparative Semitic will be made through Egyptian. It will take us further back than we have yet been able to penetrate, and it will solve the riddle of the comparative values of Arabic and Hebrew as to primitiveness of form. Until recently it was imagined that we had in Arabic a tolerable representative of that mother tongue which lies behind the Semitic group, and Hebrew grammars, notably that of Olshausen, were written upon the principle of taking the Arabic form as representing the primitive, and from it deducing the Hebrew. This was an outcome of the position of the Dutch school of Arabists, and finds its parallel in the similar place once assigned to Sanscrit in the Indo-European group. But that passed, and it is coming to be slowly recognized that there are innumerable forms in Arabic which cannot be primitive, but are secondary in the highest degree; and, further, that the appearance of uniformity, which in Arabic is so striking and gives so strong an impression of originality, is due to a law of analogy working within this one language. Thus the pendulum has swung back and Hebrew has partly regained its place. The position of being the original language is not again claimed for it, but it may *possibly* be the most original in the Semitic group. The problem, then, was and is to decide how much in Arabic is primitive, and how much is due to analogy and changes in the language itself. To the solution of this problem Assyrian did not contribute as much as was expected. Perhaps its time has not yet come, but it may be said that students of Semitic are, from various causes, very chary of basing anything upon the evidence of Assyrian forms or texts. But now Egyptian has entered the field and has given promise of very different results. It stands very much farther removed from the other Semitic dialects than does Assyrian. The laws of the interchange of sounds show us that Assyrian is a close relative to Canaanite, and, as we now know through the Panammu inscription, to old Aramaic. But Egyptian stands altogether outside of the Asiatic group which forms a connected whole over against it. The combination of the two will take us behind the division, not only of Canaanite, Aramaic and Assyrian, or of North and South Arabic, but the division of North and South Semitic. Nay, it takes us even further than this, and promises to solve the problem of the North and East African languages. Into this it is impossible to enter, and many years must pass before, on that side, fixed results can be looked for, but it is curious to see the little group of languages called Semitic which were once regarded as being so sharply and decisively separated from all the other tongues of the earth, beginning to accept new members and to melt into an unknown haze.

But apart from the wider horizon which thus opens out, no one can work through this book without recognizing on almost every page the promise of the solution of one or another problem as to the origin of a form or of a construction. It is needless to enter into detail; no one who professes to study comparative Semitic can now afford to be ignorant of Egyptian, and those who, like Hommel in his examination of the Sibilants, have already begun the study, will be the leaders in the new movement. Like Hommel again, their theories may have been scoffed at, but it will be for the future to weed out the false from the true.

It is for the student of Semitic, then, to give his days and nights to the study of this grammar, and of the companion Coptic grammar by Dr. Steindorff, and thus, at last, to gain a basis for scientific comparative study. As a guide to this, Dr. Erman's article in Vol. XLVI. of the ZDMG., *Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen*, sums up all that at present can be asserted with absolute confidence.

It remains only to say that the translation, with the exception of the author's preface, which must have been done very hurriedly at the last, is idiomatic and careful, written in English and not, as so often, in English German. Mr. Breasted is to be congratulated on his work.

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A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF THE ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE.*

The facts connected with the history of the decipherment of the Assyrian language have compelled every student of Assyriology to be his own lexicographer. Every earnest student has compiled "lists" of words for his own use. This was the only way in which he could hope to keep pace with the rapidly increasing vocabulary and the only means by which he could attain to approximate or scientific accuracy in the definition and derivation of words and in the syntactical constructions of the language. From this necessity the real student is not likely soon to be relieved. Heaps of clay tablets are now being exhumed in the orient, and several of our museums contain a wealth of material for future investigation that is far from exhausted. For the specialist it matters little whether a Lexicon appears or not. But the case is different with the average graduate student who wishes to gain a practical working knowledge of the language—sufficient to enable him to follow and appreciate the work of specialists and intelligently apply their conclusions in other fields. For beginners in Assyrian it would be a great gain if a suitable compendium of the lexical results already achieved were at hand. Up to the present no complete work of this nature has appeared. Edwin Norris' *Assyrian Dictionary*, Parts I.-III., appeared a quarter of a century ago. It remained incomplete. The advance made in the whole field of Assyriology since 1872 has deprived his pioneer work in Assyrian lexicography of its value except as an historical landmark. Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch began the publication of his *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* in 1887. This work is beyond the range of the ordinary student in the wealth of material which it offers, and in the learned discussions of difficult points which enrich it, as well as in price. Moreover, at the present rate of publication the end is afar off.† Pater Strassmaier's *Verzeichniss Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter*, one of the most indispensable works for advanced students, is, as its title implies, a catalogue of words with their contexts alphabetically arranged and without definition. The most important available lexical contributions have come to us in connection with the interpreta-

* A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF THE ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE (Assyrian-English-German), by W. Muss-Arnolt. Part I., 8°, pp. 84. To be completed in about 3 parts. 5s. each. Berlin: Reuther u. Richard, 1894.

† His smaller *Wörterbuch* is, however, rapidly coming from the press, and is well adapted to the needs of students. April 10.

tion of special texts, or works on special subjects, but these, for the most part, like the works just named, are not available to the student who is beginning his study.

The feeling has been generally shared for several years that the time had come for a succinct Assyrian Dictionary, and Assyriologists generally, I believe, hailed with satisfaction the announcement issued by the "Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University" in 1887, of its intention to produce such a work. This intention, for some reason, has not been effected. On March 15th, 1892, in answer to an enquiry of the writer, Prof. Haupt wrote: "About one-quarter of the MS. has been prepared, and we hope to be able to begin with the printing in about two years." The present work, as we learn from this statement, as well as from the preface, owes its inception to the Semitic Department of Johns Hopkins University, and the author claims "that, on the whole, the plan is the same as that proposed by the 'Semitic Seminary.'" Prof. Haupt has already confirmed this in the *PAOS*. in which he points out that even parts of the preface are a transcript of what had been written regarding the plan before the author became a member of the Seminary. The author, after his connection with the "Seminary" as scribe and contributor in this coöperative undertaking, presumably had an accurate register of the results, and the inference may be legitimately drawn that this *First Part* agrees substantially with the beginning of the MS., one-quarter of which was ready for publication in 1892.

The work is therefore essentially a Johns Hopkins' production, and the credit of the work, as far as it has gone, must be divided between the author and his friend in Baltimore. It was in pursuance of the advice of Prof. Haupt, according to the preface, that the work has eventually appeared. We need not further concern ourselves with the history of this work of many hands, concerning which there seems to have been some "confusion of tongues" which resulted in the abandonment of the original purpose. Prof. Haupt has already promised to review it from the historical side, and we may safely leave the less interesting details of its origin and growth to him.

The industry of the author is in many respects certainly praiseworthy. We have here a collection of material sufficient to show to one engaged in any similar undertaking in this field the laborious character of the work. It is, therefore, with the greatest regret that I cannot welcome this work as one worthy of its author and equal to the needs of the student and to the demands of present-day Assyrian lexicography. Especially in this field, where the band of workers is yet small and the hindrances still many, all earnest effort ought to be met with encouragement. But, when an author enters into one of the most important fields and essays to furnish a guide-book for the uninitiated, he voluntarily assumes a function the performance of which cannot, in the interests of scholarship, be judged except by scientific standards.

What purports to be a favorable review of the book has already appeared in the *Academy* from the pen of Professor Sayce. Professor Sayce there declares that he "has nothing but words of warm welcome and admiration for Dr. Muse-Arnolt"; but immediately preceding he writes: "I wish that the author had been more careful in distinguishing Assyrian and Sumerian, and both from ideographic expressions. As it is, Sumerian and Assyrian are mixed together in a way that will be confusing to the beginner and still more to the general student of language." Later he adds: "The author has produced an accurate

work and achieved the object at which he aimed." We need not halt at this point to attempt a reconciliation of these antithetical judgments, nor to enquire what their author conceived the aim to be. We have reasons, as urgent perhaps as Mr. Sayce's, for expressing admiration of the author, yet we cannot unite with him in saying that he has produced "an accurate work." Much less has he produced such a work as we need.

1. The author, as we think, very unwisely accepted the suggestion of his publishers and added throughout translations into German. *Cui bono?* He has thus encumbered his work with useless repetitions, introduced confusion by the insertion of about thirty pairs of unsightly brackets on each page, enlarged the volume and increased the price of the work. The distraction occasioned by the brackets is all the greater as there is also a copious use of parentheses, parallel lines, etc. Judging from experience, it is a mistake to suppose that Germans who study Assyrian, or any Semitic language, are so entirely ignorant of English as to be in need of this proffered help. If the student wishes to prosecute his studies to any length, it is imperative that he learn English. The *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* admits articles in German, English, French, Italian and Latin, and the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* are printed for the most part in English and French, not to speak of *HEBRAICA* and others, to all of which the student is constantly referred. It must be quite evident to one who thinks over the matter seriously that the author has acted hastily and inconsistently.

2. The need of the present is a concise Dictionary in fact, not merely in name. Instead of that, the author has produced a combination of Dictionary and etymological reference book, a product, the origin of which, we fear, is to be sought in a vain and jealous conceit. Whatever value or interest may attach to the history of derivations and definitions, the attention of the student certainly ought not to be diverted from the point in hand, viz., the definition and derivation. It is sufficient to insert them, and, if doubtful, mark them so. To take the first case that my eye happens to catch at the moment, the word *abbûnu*, p. 9, written *ab-bu-un-nu* and defined "perhaps, pelican." It is said to be parallel, or equal, to *tušmû*, and reference is made to *Ds118=Delitzsch, Assyrische Studien*. Both words are there defined as "Pelekan." *Abbûnu* is derived from

IV. *حَبْن* "aufblasen," and *tušmû* from *נִשֵּׁם*, "aufblasen," and said to be the same as *תְּנִשְׁמֶת*. Turning back to page 98 *ibid.*, where three pages are given to the discussion of *tušmû*, he reads convincing arguments in favor of the reading, definition and derivation of *tušmû*. Then he has a reference to *DW.* (no page!) a work thirteen years later. Here he finds no reference whatever to *tušmû*. On the contrary, *ab-bu-un-nu* is equated with *ku-mu-u*, as Norris, II. 567, had previously read. Moreover, *DW.* reads *ab-bu-un-nu* (or *ap-pu-un-nu*?) and defines "ein Vogel" with no attempt at derivation. In remark 2, we read: "Für einen anderen Vogel *kumû* nämlich den Pelekan, s. u. *atân nâri*, 'Flusseselin.'" There are still two other references, viz., Jensen and *AV.* 77. He looks back to the list of "Abbreviations" to see what work of Jensen's is intended. Reference to the page is wanting, so he turns to the Glossary of *Kosm.*, only to find that the word *kumû* is not recorded (only *kummu*.) *AV.* is now turned to, and here he sees that *ab-bu-un-nu* is equated with *ku-mu-u* and defined "ein Vogel." It is further compared with *Aram. אֲבִיָּה* "Weibe" (?) and *Heb. אִנְיָה*. How much now has the student

gained, or what is to be gained by anyone by spending time on these clever speculations which have been abandoned long ago by the authors? In our own private "lists," these references are indispensable; here they have no place. It is the business of the lexicographer not merely to collect his material, he is also required to express a judgment. The student here is left to himself to find out that Prof. Delitzsch no longer defines the word in question as "Pelekan," and that he does not propose for it the derivation given in *Assyrische Studien*. He is left to draw what conclusion he may as to the correctness of Pater Strassmaier's identification of the word with אֲכַנִּיתָּ and אֲנָפָה. If he concludes that the latter is correct, he may chance to look down the column to the word *ibnetum*. This is defined as "fishhawk," and this, too, he learns is "perhaps" to be compared with Aram. אֲכַנִּיתָּ. There is a reference to Dsl14, where it is defined as "Fischreiher" (?) but there is no mention of DW. which omits "Fischreiher (?) " but says, "sicher = targ. אֲכַנִּיתָּ womit hebr. אֲנָפָה widergegeben wird." We submit as our judgment that the student has had unwisely imposed upon him a vast amount of labor, the result of which must be confusion and distrust. Would it not have been preferable to have stated simply that a-b-u-n-nu=ku(tuš)-mu-u, a bird; *ibnetu*=dādu, a bird; cf. Aram. אֲכַנִּיתָּ, Heb. אֲנָפָה? These examples, taken by chance, indicate what I conceive to be a grievous mistake in a work intended for the beginner.

3. The author seems to have forgotten the promise of the preface to give "the corresponding forms" occurring "in the sister idioms." The insertion of these forms, especially the Hebrew, instead of the diverting translations into German, would have been highly profitable. This, however, has been done with a reserve that caricatures the promise. Does the stem a,bāru, p. 9, not correspond to חָבַר, and is not the root *ṭatāpu* given under this word as a synonym, the same root which occurs in טֹטְפָה, Aram. טֹטְפָה? Have the following forms on pp. 7-9, not to speak of others, no corresponding forms "in the sister idioms"? ebru (2), abru (1), abusu, ebru (3), abnu, abalu (1), ablu (2), abūlu, ubanu, (according to the derivation preferred)? Why explain almattu (3), "widow=vidua," and leave out אֶלְמָנָה?

4. The work gives evidence on almost every page of inaccuracies and scorn of scientific principles. The first sentence in the book is a blunder. The student is informed that the Assyrian *ṣ* represents *seven gutturals*, two of which are the labial *waw* and the palatal *yodh*! If we look now at the first word, A, 1. we ask (a) Why it is not written *Ā*? (b) Why, when it is defined "ah!" it were not better to translate it so in the appended example? The translation given does not represent the Assyrian (though, see also ZB. and DW.), and is decidedly un-English. (c) Why in this example *ṣunuḥat* (sighs, cf. נִאֲנָחָה) is translated "is filled" (=tumtalli or malat)? (d) Why *kabitti* is written *kat-bit-ti*? (e) What new light has the author obtained on the text that he should prefer *kabitti* to *kabittašu*, as read by Zimmern BS. p. 10 and Delitzsch AW. p. 218? IV R² p. 29 certainly furnishes none. The last two lines of the Rev. were like those of the Obv. doubtlessly spoken by the priest. The last line certainly was, as is clear from the non-Semitic IŠ-BI and the Assyrian i-bak-ki. Turning to p. 2 to a-u, we are told that it is written ja-u,

H. 33, 785. But the ja-u there is an adverb and synonym of ja-nu (with which it is equated) = where = יָנִי . Reference is made to IV R. 68, 11 + 16 for the pl. a-a-u-te. The sentence (l. 16) reads $\text{âûte dibbêya ša akka-bakāni ina muḥḥi la tazizûni}$ (= *tanzizûni*) = *What (are) my words which I have spoken to thee whereon thou hast not relied?* âûte dibbêya cannot mean "what words." The word does not occur in l. 11. The citation of NE. 43, 42f. without an accompanying interrogation was, to say the least, venturesome. It is quite impossible to decide from the fragmentary lines a-a-ú ḥa mī ra ana da-riš, and a-a-ú al la ki i-lu-ú what the force of the word is, much less to translate it "what has become of?"

5. Principles seem to have been utterly ignored in indicating the length of the vowels. The a of âbu is certainly long, and not short as given, as examples like a-a-bu, ab-bu show and as the derivation (אָב), if correct, would suggest. The pl. is âbê , not "abe," though two lines below we read abêšu , and again abêia followed by "šarrani." Under âbu , we read pl. abuti , c. st. abût . So abubu for abûbu , abubaniš for abûbâniš , abul-lati (sic!) for abûlâti . (Why the -ia after the MEŠ?) Why read abûlâti ? The word is construed as a *feminine*, but this does not prove that the pl. ending is "âti." The citation(s) should have been given for the form, as the common reading is abullê . Under "ubanu" (for ubânu), we read side by side "ubane," "ubanût," "ḥuršane," "šadê." So "e.buru" 8, but note "ebûru," "abâlu," and "abalu," "abkulû" and "abkûlû," "abšanu" and "ab-šâ-na." These are not selected pages, and it is, therefore, sufficient to add: *Ex his discite omnia!*

6. Instead of the symbols Q, I, Q^m, ŠT, etc., it would have been much better had the author accepted the common notation I., II., L., III., etc. And to what purpose are the devices, so generally ignored in Assyrian works and by Assyriologists, of representing 𐤓 by X (x) and 𐤓 by ç introduced here? Such things are too petty for notice, were it not that they serve only to confuse the student, and represent a local striving after *novas res*.

7. What advantage is gained by disfiguring the pages with the mathematical signs $>$, ∞ , the first of which ordinarily denotes "greater than," the second the difference undetermined between two quantities? The use of the latter is not explained in the List of Abbreviations. The simple contraction "fr." or the usual "=" for the former and the omission of the latter would have been preferable. Symbols have their place, when they have a special use and excel in clearness or brevity the ordinary contractions, not otherwise.

8. Occasionally the author reverses the order "Ass.-Eng.-Germ." and gives the Germ. the preference. Cf. p. 7, col. 1, under ubbulu , 1. "ob magere Getreide wächst, whether poor grain will thrive;" Col. II., l. 4, "er nahm weg, he took away;" and p. 11, under abšenu , "Korn in Aehren" is left untranslated; "die Weltgegenden," *ibid.*, col. 1, l. 5, likewise. Not infrequently the translations from German into English are ambiguous and infelicitous, e. g., "Rain-gushes" from *Regengüsse*, p. 8, "To make half the royal cap," from *die Königsmütze zu hälften*, s. ag. 2. p. 20, "gathered blood" from *geronnenes Blut*.

9. Wherever the plurs. of nouns or adjectives occur, they should have been placed immediately after the singular. The author's arrangement leaves the

student uninformed until he has read the most, if not all, that is given on the word. The verb-stems likewise should have been indicated more clearly than they are. If the common notation had been employed and projected beyond the edge of the column, a much more serviceable book would have been the result.

10. The criticism made by Professor Sayce on the lack of discrimination between Sumerian and Assyrian is a just one. No suggestion is made anywhere that such words as *agubbu* (*a+gub*), *igegallu* (*ige-gal*), *edamukku* (*a+damug*), etc., were not originally pure Semitic. Enough said.

I have not attempted a thorough examination of the work. I say nothing whatever about the etymologies or the definitions, nor about the typographical errors of which there are too many. What I have said is wholly without prejudice, but not without a very strong conviction that this book will not satisfy our needs unless it be reconstructed on wholly different principles and executed with greater care. And we would most heartily recommend the author and publisher to take this suggestion into their consideration.

JAMES A. CRAIG.

University of Michigan, Dec. 26th.

Since writing the above, I have been informed that Part I. was withdrawn, soon after its appearance in America, on account of the numerous mistakes to which the author's attention was directed. Within a week a new edition of Part I. has appeared with the following explanation: "Owing to the great distance between Leipzig(!) and Chicago, the author could read only one proof of the greater portion of Part I. This has caused a number of irregularities in the marking of quantities, etc. Part I. has therefore been printed again."

April 10th, 1895.

J. A. C.

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GENERAL INDEX.

A Critical Copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch.....	122
Assyriological Notes.....	196
Barton, Prof. George A., The Semitic Istar Cult.	1
—— Notes.....	202
Book Notices: Bezold's Oriental Diplomacy, 107; Harper's Assyrian Letters, 108; Erman's Egypt, 208; A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, 212.	
Contributed Notes: Corrections to the text of the Monolith of Shalmanesar as given in "Hebraica," II., No. 3, 106.	
Craig, Prof. James A., Prayer of the Assyrian King Asurbanipal (cir. 650 B. C.).....	75
Critical Copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, A.....	122
Derenbourg, Hartwig, Livre intitulé Laisa, sur les Exceptions de la Langue Arabe, par Ibn Khâlôûya, dit Ibn Khâlawaihi. Texte Arabe publié d'après le manuscrit unique du British Museum.....	98
External Evidence of the Exodus, The.....	159
Harper, Prof. Robert F., Assyriological Notes.....	196
Jastrow, Prof. Morris, Jr., Mušannîtu(m).....	193
Livre intitulé Laisa, sur les Exceptions de la Langue Arabe, par Ibn Khâlôûya, dit Ibn Khâlawaihi. Texte Arabe publié d'après le manuscrit unique du British Museum.....	88
Margolis, Prof. Max L., Notes on Semitic Grammar.....	188
Mušannîtu(m).....	193
Notes.....	202
Notes on Semitic Grammar..	188
On the Hebrew Element in Slavo-Judæo-German.....	175
Paton, Prof. Lewis B., The Relation of Lev. xx. to Lev. xvii.-xix.....	111

Prayer of the Assyrian King Asurbanipal (cir. 650 B. C.).....	75
Relation of Lev. xx. to Lev. xvii.-xix., The.....	111
Schmidt, Prof, Nathaniel, The External Evidence of the Exodus.....	159
Semitic Bibliography.....	218
Semitic Istar Cult, The.....	1
The External Evidence of the Exodus.....	159
The Relation of Lev. xx. to Lev. xvii.-xix.....	111
The Semitic Istar Cult.....	1
Watson, Rev. W: Scott, A Critical Copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch.....	122
Wiener, Leo, On the Hebrew Element in Slavo-Judæo-German.....	175



5

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